

IN THESE TIMES

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Rock
Reborn!
Page 23

VOL. 4, NO. 4

DECEMBER 5-DECEMBER 11, 1979

70 CENTS

CHANGING the GUARD

Kirkland replaces Meany



Looking Backward

*Books about
American Culture
in the '50s and '60s*

THE INSIDE STORY



Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer of UAW District 65.

Democratic Agenda sets agenda for 1980s, not 1980

By John Judis

Since the decline of the pre-World War I Socialist party, the American left has had a terrible time making its voice heard during presidential election campaigns. In the '30s, the Socialists ran Norman Thomas, while the Communists eventually submerged themselves in Franklin Roosevelt's campaigns. In 1948, the Communists helped organize Henry Wallace's ill-fated Progressive party. In the '60s, anti-war activists formed third parties in California, Michigan, and several other states, but these parties faded in the '70s.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), which was formed out of the old Socialist party in 1973, has always been committed to working within the Democratic party. In 1976, it backed Jimmy Carter against Gerald Ford, and in 1980 it is backing Sen. Ted Kennedy against Carter in the primary. But most DSOC members acknowledge that because of their organization's small size, they cannot hope to affect a national campaign's politics or even its chances of success.

DSOC members have sought influence over presidential elections and the national Democratic party through affecting its convention platform. In 1976, DSOC organized Democracy '76, a coalition of liberal politicians, progressive labor unions, and minority, feminist, consumer and environmental organizations. Democracy '76 members testified at platform hearings, and 500 of them convened in New York during the Democratic convention to declare their support for a program of full employment planning and the redistribution of wealth.

At the December 1978 Democratic party mid-term convention in Memphis, Democracy '76, now rechristened the Democratic Agenda, led the fight against Carter's planned budget cuts and energy policy. (ITT, Dec. 20, 1978).

At their February 1979 convention, DSOC had projected this fall's Democratic Agenda meeting as a chance to develop "a platform in search of a candidate." At the time, most DSOC members did not believe that Kennedy would run, and no-one thought that if he did run, he would declare his candidacy before the November conference date. The Agenda conference was designed to put pressure on Democratic liberals, including Kennedy, to throw their hat in the ring, while also beginning to outline positions on the economy that Democratic Agenda representatives could take to platform hearings and the 1980 convention.

When it became apparent in early September that Kennedy was going to run and that he would be moving toward the political center in order to defuse criticism of him as a "big spender," DSOC leaders reconceptualized the conference as a vehicle for pressuring Kennedy from the left. Its success in this role rested in agreement within the larger coalition on a program clearly to the left of Kennedy and some agreement about Kennedy. It also rested on Kennedy's willingness to recognize the Democratic Agenda as part of his immediate constituency.

Last month's Democratic Agenda delegates did agree on a militantly anti-corporate approach to the 1980 platform. But there was a surprising lack of enthusiasm for Kennedy's candidacy. Some important Democratic Agenda unions like the American Federation of State, Municipal and County Employees (AFSCME) and the United Auto Workers (UAW) remain uncommitted. Other Democratic Agenda unions like the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers were nominally pledged to Carter. And many young Agenda members, and some older ones, were surprisingly detached from the campaign, apparently because of disenchantment with Kennedy's rightward turn and with presidential politics in general.

For his part, Kennedy showed no interest in the conference. While he sent the usual telegram, he rejected a Conference invitation to speak and none of his main political lieutenants attended.

As a result, the Democratic Agenda seemed strangely lacking in a real agenda. Agenda spokespeople made a firm pretense of directing delegates to a discussion of issues that would pertain to the 1980 platform under the assumption, as Conference organizer Ruth Jordan said, that unity on such a platform would influence any Democratic candidate. But with the convention 9 months away and with the Democratic Agenda having no discipline over its members, these discussions quickly devolved into general discussions of the Ayatollah, inflation, and local issues.

The Conference also avoided discussion or debate about the campaign and the candidates. The organizers claimed this was because some unions were still uncommitted to Kennedy and didn't want to be forced into public positions. But the organizers had previously invited Kennedy but none of the other candidates to speak. The only hint of debate came when Barry Commoner of the Citizens' party spoke. As a result, many of the questions that most bedeviled the delegates and that might also have interested the general public were suppressed in the interest of unity around an anti-corporate platform. As at other kinds of conventions, many of the interesting discussions occurred in private rooms and in cocktail lounges.

Enter the Building Trades.

The most impressive aspect of the Nov. 16-18 conference was the numbers and the composition of the delegates. More than 1700 attended, with about a fourth from the labor movement. Labor attendance was by no means limited to Washington staffers. Several busloads of unionists from New York and New England attended, including 55 AFSCME members from Rhode Island.

There were also many more young people and students at this Conference than at past Agenda conferences, which was largely a result of DSOC's recent emphasis on campus organizing. About 150 students attended, most of them from elite Eastern campuses.

The breadth of the coalition was symbolized by the opening speech of AFL-CIO Building Trades president Robert Georgine. Georgine was not among the list of invited speakers, but had personally requested to appear. "To find the president of the Building Trades at a

meeting like this is, some people might think, sort of like a fish out of water," Georgine told the Agenda audience. "I don't feel that way. The theme of the Democratic Agenda is corporate power. As president of the Building Trades, I can tell you we've placed the control of corporate power on top of our agenda for the 1980s."

In the past, Georgine's Building Trades had bitterly opposed the anti-war views of many of those present, and there was still deep disagreement over nuclear power. But Georgine committed himself to the Agenda's coalition.

The evils of corporate power were addressed by all the Agenda speakers, from AFSCME and Coalition of Black Trade Unionist official William Lucy to Maryland congresswoman Barbara Mikulski. (Mikulski got the slip-of-the-week award when she told the delegates, "I come here not with a message of sadness, but a message of hype.") In his keynote address to the conference, DSOC head Michael Harrington embodied the anti-corporate thrust in a demand for price controls on major corporations, national health insurance, credit controls on banks, an end to agribusiness subsidies, price controls on crude oil and the creation of a publically-owned oil and gas corporation.

A surprising number of speakers also extended the anti-corporate analysis to a call for some form of socialism. Washington D.C. City Councilwoman Hilda Mason defined the Agenda's goal as "economic democracy." "When I talk about economic democracy," Mason said, "I mean workers and community equity, and that means ownership. Ownership means control."

Cleveland Robinson, Sec.-Treas. of UAW District 65 and a vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, warned the delegates that "we have been too often afraid of the 'isms'." He included in this "the whole question of socialism." "Socialism means one thing," Robinson said, "that we have got to establish a human society in which people take precedence over profits."

No Kennedy bandwagon.

There were no workshops or plenaries addressed to the presidential primaries. But opinions about the Kennedy campaign surfaced in asides and in private comments. In his keynote address, Harrington warned the presidential candidates that "we will not accept vague promises, good intentions, or mere charisma." This was taken as a reference to Kennedy and received loud applause. AFSCME official Lucy said that he was unwilling to make a commitment to Kennedy until he knew his program better.

Machinists' president William Winpisinger, who was still bristling from the AFL-CIO's invitation to Carter but not to Kennedy, focussed his speech on Carter, whom he attacked as a "small town hypocritical aristocrat." Later, when I asked Winpisinger about Kennedy's campaign, he said, "You won't get me to say a bad word about Kennedy if you stand here all night."

Some Eastern reform Democrats expressed a lack of enthusiasm for Kennedy. Great Neck, N.Y. Democrat Ned Cassidy said that his Democratic club had decided it was "not ready to file behind Kennedy." Connecticut

Continued on page 18.

CORRECTION:

In the "Inside Story" Nov. 21, we mistakenly printed the word *housing* instead of *busing* in one sentence. The line should have read: "Kucinich also regards busing as a divisive social issue that hopelessly pits poor whites and blacks against each other."

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IN THESE TIMES



George Meany surrounded by President Carter and other government and union leaders.

Rumblings underlie AFL-CIO surface

By David Moberg

WASHINGTON

FOR AN HISTORIC EVENT, THE 13th biennial convention of the AFL-CIO was strong on sentiment and weak in drama. George Meany, looking wan and frail in his wheelchair, predictably turned over the leadership he has held since the 1955 merger of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to Lane Kirkland, 57, who had been secretary-treasurer, as nostalgia and self-congratulation filled the center stage. There was virtually no controversy and no manifest sign of any significant shift in policies or style.

Yet underneath the placid, routine surface of events, there were uneasy rumblings. They suggest that if the central body of organized labor does not make changes on its own, it will have them thrust upon it in the coming years.

"I think the labor movement is in for hard times," delegate Tony Bucich, president of the Porter County, Ind., Central Labor Council said. "I don't think Congress sees us as a threatening political entity. They see us as disorganized."

From the platform such doubts were rarely expressed. The general tone was set by Meany's opening address in which he declared that "today the American trade union movement is vital, dynamic and growing." But informal conversations revealed the worries about organizing new members, fighting anti-union consultants, holding even at the bargaining table and fending off the increasingly effective political thrust of corporations and the right wing.

There was no full-fledged discussion of the problems facing the labor movement. But there were signs of cautious adaptation to new circumstances—new appeals for unity of all unions within the federation, new or restored alliances, tentative steps to better represent blacks and women, more aggressive action to organize workers and keep them organized, and diverse steps to increase labor's political clout.

There was a common feeling that Kirkland, briefly a deck officer in the merchant marine before starting a career as a union staffer upon graduation from Georgetown Univ. in 1948, would not be able to exercise the same personal authority that Meany has wielded. Yet it was unclear whether that would mean that the emerging "left bloc" or the more conservative traditionalists within

the AFL-CIO would gain influence. Most likely the AFL-CIO—and Kirkland—will be pressured by the country's political and economic trends into a more aggressive clash with major corporations, a trend already evident in the past few years under Meany. At the same time, there is scant prospect for any significant retreat from the hard-line anti-Communist view of foreign policy and military spending needs that has characterized the federation leadership.

Little controversy and no manifest sign of changes in policy or style surfaced at the convention. But there were signs of a return to militancy.

Some progressive union leaders fear that the two directions may clash and that the conservative drift may become dominant. "When you have to make choices of domestic programs," William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and secretary-treasurer of the State, County and Municipal Employees union (AFSCME), said of Kirkland, "I'm not sure where he'll shake out. You can't do a lot of things if you don't hold defense spending or cut it back."

Kirkland took advantage of his new office, much as Meany had when he succeeded William Green in 1952 as president of the old American Federation of Labor, to invite the Teamsters, the Auto-workers and any other unions to join the AFL-CIO again. But his undiplomatic remarks didn't speed prospective merger a bit.

"I say now to those who stand outside that I have too high a regard for the caliber of their leadership to believe that they can really be governed by petty personal or pecuniary considerations, or ancient and tedious grudges... Their pride and pelf do not equal what they are missing, because—to borrow from the *New Yorker's* alleged view of the world—everything outside the AFL-CIO really is Hoboken. All sinners belong in the church... and all true unions belong in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations."

No women, one black.

The convention symbolically affirmed the need to work with blacks and women through the speeches of Vernon Jordan of the Urban League, Benjamin Hooks of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Joyce

Miller of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, all of whom stressed their common cause with organized labor. But within organized labor's ranks there is serious discontent that the 33-member executive council includes no women and only one black (reduced by one as a result of the merger of the Sleeping Car Porters with the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks).

"It's a question of solidifying the trade

union movement at a time when it needs it more than ever," Charles Hayes, vice-president of the United Food and Chemical Workers and one of the leading black union officials, said. "I've been through this many years. I'm getting tired of an injustice being perpetuated year after year. How can we talk about the Equal Rights Amendment in the states and not get our own house in order. And as one black, I get tired of apologizing for what I know is wrong to young blacks."

Black and women's advocates generally favor expanding the executive council, which has grown by six since the merger, but even that won't automatically yield results for them. Traditionally any union has at most one representative on the council and that is the top officer. The most prominent black or women unionists hold vice-presidencies or comparable posts in big unions already represented on the council. Besides, many small unions want their presidents represented before a black or woman gets on the top leadership body. Kirkland announced that a committee would be formed to study the issue, a weak move but an acknowledgement that with women constituting 27 percent of organized workers and blacks 15 percent, the leadership of the AFL-CIO must change if it is to have the strength to defend its own interests.

Beyond the expected nods to alliances with women and minorities, the search for new allies was best dramatized by a side event—the appearance of Robert Georgine, president of the building and construction trades department of the AFL-CIO, at the opening session of the

Democratic Agenda. Georgine argued that the corporate attack on the building trades was the vanguard of assault on organized labor and progressive movements as a whole, and urged that "all groups representing the average American citizen unite to send a message to the several hundred corporations attempting to make a mockery of our democratic institutions," starting with participation in the "Big Business Day" protest planned for April 17, 1980.

National accord.

Labor's hand in political affairs was a top concern among delegates. After a couple of years of testy, sometimes rancorous, relations with the Carter administration, the AFL-CIO leadership finally won a formal recognition from Carter that it would be consulted on major policy matters. That "national accord," approved on Sept. 28, won labor general concessions on the need for making anti-inflation efforts consistent with full employment goals, on the need for appropriate anti-recession policies and protection against international competition, and "tripartite"—labor, management and "public"—consultation on voluntary pay and price standards.

Continued on page six.

Reactivating the rank and file

While top leaders at the AFL-CIO convention were quietly looking for new clout and unity in labor's upper ranks, some unions are also trying to counter increasingly hostile corporate powers by revitalizing their membership to pack a more persuasive punch at the workplace.

The Machinists, for one, have tried to train their members and stewards in a revived brand of "old-time unionism." It stresses a wide variety of pressure tactics on the shop floor, a program of education and training that essentially involves "reorganizing the organized," and a system of closer accountability of officials to the members they represent, according to Justin Ostro, 52, general vice-president for the Southwest, which includes California.

Hard times have provoked the change. "Where grievances used to be settled in the first or second step, now

Continued on page eight.

IN SHORT

ITT shuts down Quebec pulp mill

Quebec workers and labor and government officials are angered over International Telephone and Telegraph's (ITT) recent announcement of a shutdown at the U.S. conglomerate's ITT Rayonier wood pulp processing plant at Port Cartier.

The mill, whose raw products go into the making of rayon and other cellulose-based consumer and industrial goods around the world, employed 1300 workers—the economic mainstay of the town of 12,000.

Company officials claim the ultra modern mill, constructed and operated with numerous Canadian government tax incentives, low interest or free loans and other subsidies, lost \$300 million since opening in 1974.

Bad labor relations—14 work stoppages in 22 months culminating in an ongoing strike in June—were discounted by ITT as cause for the shutdown, however.

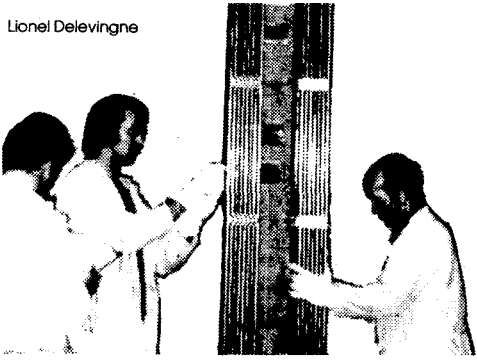
ITT Canada spokesperson John Wouters said "it was a purely economic decision. We are ready to study eventual investments in other sectors in Quebec, as long as these projects are profitable."

ITT may be ready, but many Canadians apparently are not.

Quebec Federation of Labor President Louis Laberge called for no more financial aid to ITT, charging the shutdown was "a trick to rip off the taxpayers."

A worker at the mill, Genest Gaudrault, said "they're (ITT) black-mailing Quebec into giving them our tax money so they can pad the bosses' pockets in New York. Americans—they cut down our forests, leave their garbage and stab us in the backs before they leave."

Lionel Delevingne



Technicians with nuclear fuel rods

Surry, Va., atomic workers sentenced

Two former operator-trainees at the Surry, Va., nuclear power plant were sentenced to two years in jail last week for intentionally damaging unused fuel rods April 27 to focus public attention on safety and security problems at the plant.

This is the first known case of an act of civil disobedience by nuclear utility employees at their workplace.

The defendants, William Kuykendall, 26, a three year veteran of the nuclear Navy, and James Merrill, Jr., 24, are free on \$10,000 bail each pending their appeal before the Virginia supreme court.

Defense attorney Richard Ben-Veniste, former Watergate assistant special prosecutor, said he does not expect the appeal to be heard before May 1980.

On Oct. 16, a Surry County jury found the two guilty of intentionally damaging a power plant, a felony, but recommended the minimum sentence—two years. Surry County circuit court judge Ligon L. Jones said he would consider shortening or suspending the sentence based on a court-ordered probation review. He did neither, he said however, because he saw "no indication" from the defendants "they feel what they did was wrong."

Virginia Electric and Power Company (Vepco), owner of the Surry nuclear plant,



What's a little despotism among friends?

With the American hostages still being held in Iran and American anti-Iranian sentiment running high, Henry Kissinger's name once again began appearing in U.S. headlines—this time as the alleged behind the scenes deal maker responsible for bringing the ex-shah of Iran to New York.

Columnist Jack Anderson blamed the former secretary of state—now back in the employ of his old boss, David Rockefeller—with agitating for nearly a year to admit the ex-shah to the U.S.

According to Anderson and other Washington press reports, the State Department warned that the ex-shah's U.S. arrival might result in anti-American actions in Iran.

Acting ambassador to Iran L. Bruce Laingen also cautioned his superiors that the ex-shah shouldn't be allowed in the U.S. without preparing "an effective and essential force for the protection of the embassy," according to Anderson.

Kissinger, speaking at a press conference in Philadelphia, said he strongly supported the decision to bring the ex-

shah to the U.S., but that "it just so happens that I did not bring it about."

He called "totally wrong" a *Boston Globe* report that he put heavy pressure on secretary of state Cyrus Vance to admit the ex-shah.

Anderson charged that the White House—notified by Kissinger and Rockefeller—took the word of Rockefeller's physician Benjamin H. Kearn that the ex-shah receive necessary treatment only in the U.S.

According to press reports from Iran, militants last week allegedly seized documents dated in September from Laingen saying that "at present the clergy are in power (in Iran), and I fear that if we take any action about the ex-shah, the public atmosphere might be worsened because (Ayatollah) Khomeini, in his interview with (Italian journalist) Oriana Falacci last week, condemned the ex-shah with a very harsh tone as a traitor who has committed crimes for 50 years, saying that he should return to the country."

Kissinger defended the deposed dictator as "the one ruler in the Middle East

who did not take part in the oil embargo ...therefore in April of this year I appealed to President Carter and Vance to let him in. That was refused."

Kissinger said he didn't "think the shah was a war criminal," adding "one was generally aware of political prisoners, but not of atrocities" under the ex-shah's rule.

Challenging Kissinger's claim of the ex-shah's good guy role in the oil price gouging game, Anderson said top-secret documents showed the ex-shah to be the driving force behind 1973's leap in oil prices, with Saudi Arabia offering to flood the world market with oil if only the U.S. would bridle the ex-shah's ambitions. According to Anderson, it was Kissinger who opposed any interference with Iranian price hiking.

In another speech—this time to 16 GOP governors at Austin, Texas, Kissinger said the ex-shah's overthrow "shifted the balance of power in the Middle East dangerously toward radical forces."

said the April 27 act caused about \$810,000 in damages, but posed no safety danger because the fuel rods were not being used. When Vepco discovered the damage in early May, Kuykendall and Merrill publicly and voluntarily admitted responsibility.

They also wrote a letter to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) Oct. 10 explaining their actions, detailing health and safety hazards at the Surry plant and recommending three basic safety steps the NRC should take to improve the facility.

The NRC has taken no formal action in response to the letter.

Since it began operating its first nuclear plant in 1972, Vepco has paid more fines to the NRC for violating federal regulations than any other utility in the nation—\$112,400 over seven years.

—Mark Alan Pinsky

Judge: RCP case was vindictiveness

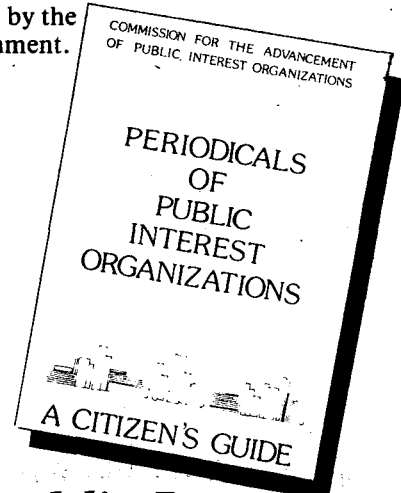
District of Columbia judge Carlisle Pratt, citing federal prosecutors he said were "motivated by vindictiveness," has dropped assault and rioting charges against 17 members of the self-styled Maoist group, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

The RCP members and supporters were arrested near the White House Jan. 29 while protesting Chinese Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping's American visit.

They faced a long list of felony charges

that could have sent them to jail for more than 100 years. The original charges were the result of a rock and club battle with police that left at least 50 persons injured.

An RCP spokesperson called the judge's decision a "major tactical retreat" by the government.



Public Interest guide available

The Commission for the Advancement of Public Interest Organizations has published a concise guide to 103 newspapers, newsletters, magazines and journals published by public interest and activist groups.

Periodicals of Public Interest Organizations—A Citizen's Guide includes subscription prices, addresses and other

publishing information on periodicals representing what Ralph Nader calls a "neglected dimension of adult education and an invitation to civic involvement."

The guide costs \$4 for public interest groups, \$5 for individuals, government, schools and public libraries and \$15 for all others.

Checks should be made payable to the Commission for the Advancement of Public Interest Organizations, 1875 Connecticut Ave. NW, No. 1013, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Washington voters reject nuclear plant

Skagit County, Wash., voters overwhelmingly said no in a referendum election earlier this month to Puget Power and Light's plans for twin nuclear reactors on the Skagit River delta below Mt. Baker.

Although the power company battled placing the advisory referendum on the ballot, more than 71 percent of the area's 22,000 votes cast called for the company to be denied a construction permit.

Puget Power president John Ellis, whose company got approval for the project from two-thirds of the area's residents in a poll taken five years ago, said the referendum vote "demonstrates an almost complete reversal in public confidence in nuclear power since the Three Mile Island incident."

—John de Graaf

IN THE NATION

SEXUAL DISCRIMINATION

Plywood strikers back fired woman

By Scott Kauffman

OLYMPIA, WASH.

SHELTON, WASH., IS REFERRED to locally as "Christmas Town U.S.A." A small town located at the southern base of the Olympic mountains, its main industry is wood products, with the Simpson Timber Company employing over 1400 workers locally. On Oct. 8, 1979 these workers went on strike over an issue of sexual discrimination.

The strike began after negotiations between Simpson and representatives of the International Woodworkers of America, Local 3-38, failed to reach agreement over the termination of a woman in the Shelton plant's plywood division.

In April, Toni Gilbertson of Shelton was interviewed for a job with Simpson in its plywood mill. She was told by her interviewer that she would be unable to work there because her breasts were too large and her frame too slight. After the interview Gilbertson complained to the Simpson personnel office about the treatment she had received. The personnel office informed her that similar complaints had been lodged in the past but there was nothing they could do about her problem. Gilbertson then filed a sexual discrimination complaint against Simpson with the state Human Rights Commission (HRC).

After Simpson was notified of the HRC complaint, Gilbertson received a registered letter from the company asking her to begin work immediately. In Gilbertson's opinion, the company offered her the job in hopes of circumventing the pending HRC investigation into the complaints.

Gilbertson's job involved mostly clean-up and some pulling of dried plywood layers off a moving chain. According to Local 3-38 President Jim Lowery, the female supervisor on Gilbertson's shift "told the union and the company's grievance committee that she had been satisfied with [Gilbertson's] work."

After four days on the graveyard shift Gilbertson was told that she could bid to transfer onto the swing shift. She bid on and received the new job that consisted entirely of pulling sheets off the dry belt, a job she had previously performed part-time.

She worked on the swing shift for approximately 24 days during which she was subjected to six highly unusual job evaluation meetings with two Simpson representatives and her shop steward. Simpson publicly called these meetings "counseling sessions," but Lowery disclosed that "company representatives concede in grievance meetings that they had kept closer watch on her than they had for other other employees because of her discrimination suit."

Over the objections of Gilbertson's shop steward, and in apparent violation of the contract, Simpson fired Gilbertson June 25, "because she could not perform the work of an offbearer on the drybelts..."

After Gilbertson's termination the union instituted grievance proceedings to try to resolve the issue without a strike, but at meetings stretching over the summer the union and company failed to resolve the issue. Finally, on Sept. 21, a plant-wide referendum was held to authorize a strike over the firing.

In a narrow vote of 52 percent to 48 percent the members authorized the strike. Soon after it began, seven women workers came forward and signed affi-

davits that during their hiring interviews they had been "asked to take off their blouses, asked if they wore a bra, asked if they would have sex with their supervisors and had to endure comments about their breasts," President Lowery said. He also stated that "as male chauvinistic as our workers might be, even they don't tolerate that kind of interview process."

To date Simpson has denied all charges of sexual discrimination and harassment in hiring. Mike Munson, spokesman for Simpson, calls the charges "union tactics" that "the union is emphasizing because it has a weak case." Another Simpson official, Hand Sandstrom, calls the charges "slanderous" and in a letter to employees wrote, "Whatever the outcome of the strike, the effects of these accusations on supervisors, their wives and children will remain for some time to come." Although Simpson flatly denies that Gilbertson was singled out or treated differently than other employees, they have nonetheless offered her \$2,000 (less taxes) if she halts her litigation against the company. All suggestions that Simpson rehire Gilbertson have been rejected.

On Nov. 10, union officials organized a mass march through downtown Shelton attended by 800 union members and their supporters. The march was held in an effort to end the widespread belief that rank-and-file members did not support the strike. The close strike vote in September seemed to indicate an ambivalence of many male workers towards women at Simpson. Women have been working at the Shelton plant for five years and represent about four



Toni Gilbertson, who was fired after filing a discrimination complaint, standing in front of International Woodworkers, Local 3-38 offices in Shelton, Wash.

percent of the workforce. Their presence remains controversial in this traditional northwest logging community.

After the mass march, 1,000 union members met to discuss Simpson's proposal for ending the strike. Simpson's proposal to pay Gilbertson \$2,000 if she would end her litigation and quit was overwhelmingly rejected in a voice vote, indicating that membership support for the strike had increased dramatically since September.

Union members appear strong in their resolve to stay on strike until Gilbertson is rehired and Simpson agrees to abide by the contract. However, given the in-

creasing length of the strike (which costs union members over \$100,000 per day in lost wages), and the current uncertainties in the wood products industry, this could change. By mid-November four plywood plants had announced temporary closures and seven others had begun production cutbacks at mill sites in Washington, Oregon, and Montana.

Whatever the result, the strike goes to the heart of changes that are taking place not only in Shelton, but across the U.S., changes that center around the influx of women into traditionally "male" jobs and their consequent demands for equality and respect in the workplace. ■

IRANIAN STUDENTS

Support for Iranian rights begins



The U.S. embassy seizure unleashed widespread anti-Iranian expressions.

By Julian Otis & Emily Wright

THE WEEKS FOLLOWING THE Nov. 6 seizure of the American embassy in Tehran by Iranian students saw mounting indignation and public hostility against Iranians in the U.S. Iranian students at American colleges and universities demonstrating against the ex-shah were cursed and sometimes beaten. "Nuke Iran" graffiti was sprayed on walls all over the country. The Carter administration ordered all Iranians on student visas to report to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for review of their status.

In Madison, Wisc., Nov. 9, about 50 Moslem students marched to the capitol shouting "Death to the Shah" and "God is Great." By the time they returned to the university mall, an angry crowd had gathered to tell them to go home. Violence was averted by a group of Americans determined to prevent a confrontation, but the same day a group of Chicano students, mistaken for Iranians, were harassed on campus, and later someone spray painted "Rape an Iranian Woman Today" on a wall. An Iranian woman trying to obliterate the message was threatened, but escaped being assaulted when others came to her rescue.

In Cleveland, WEWS-TV sports caster Gib Shanley shocked viewers and station employees when he said, "I know this isn't sports, but I'm going to do it anyway," and then set fire to a small Iranian flag. It wasn't sports, but business, that led to an interview in San Francisco with a flag manufacturer who said sales of Iranian flags have jumped—most of them going up in vindictive smoke.

Anti-Iranian demonstrators in Houston, mocking the waving of pictures of the Ayatollah Khomeini by Iranians, paraded through the streets carrying the image of their own hero—John Wayne.

Events like these have led students and faculty members to organize in defense of the rights of Iranians in the U.S. and constitutional civil liberties in general. The Madison Committee to Oppose the Backlash (MCOB) was formed to protest "against the mounting, whipped up public hysteria" over the events in Iran. MCOB said it didn't condone "threatening the lives of the hostages" in Tehran and that the group did not support Khomeini. Their purpose was "to retrieve some of the public arena from the clutches of anti-foreign madness, national chauvinism and hatred." This could only be done, MCOB said, by understanding the embassy seizure in the context of U.S. intervention in Iran over the last quarter century, starting with the CIA's admitted overthrow of the democratically-elected government of Mohammed Mossadegh in 1953.

From the mid-'50s until just about a

Continued on page 8.

MINEWORKERS

Arnold Miller quits for a Boyle man

Sam Church, a nuts and bolts man, was effective president for two years while Miller was sick.

By David Moberg

WASHINGTON

WHEN ARNOLD MILLER stepped down from the presidency of the 177,000-member United Mine Workers on Nov. 15, the epoch of the insurgent Miners for Democracy was buried—but it had long been dead.

Sam Church, 43, the union vice-president who assumed leadership, was a supporter of Tony Boyle, the corrupt union boss ousted by Miller in 1972, who later became a close associate of Miller. Church had done much of the union work for Miller over the past two years, but Miller—increasingly ill, erratic and vindictive—remained president “in a negative sense only,” according to one former staffer. “He had veto power, but he wasn’t doing anything at least since the 1977-78 negotiations.”

Miller resigned because of ill health after being hospitalized for his second heart attack. (Subsequently he suffered



Sam Church, new UMW president is expected to be a capable administrator, but is no reformer.

another as he prepared to leave the hospital.) But his way out was eased by arrangements to guarantee him a continued salary of \$40,000 a year as president emeritus.

Many people in the union leadership wanted Miller out, and he had lost much of his support on the International Executive Board. On several issues in the past few months Miller was defeated. One of the most important was Miller's effort to consolidate the three western districts of the union, presumably to increase his control.

Most observers expect Church to be far more efficient and capable as a “nuts and bolts” administrator of the union.

He said at his first press conference as president that “I hope to try to lay the ill feelings aside. Probably within the next two weeks I will call in all district presidents and International Executive Board members to discuss improving communications and to get their feelings on how we can hold this union together.”

But he also suggested that he would

not change union policies much: “I don’t see a big difference [with Miller]. But me being in better health, I’ll have more time and stamina to get the job done.” Described by one observer as a “conservative, unimaginative kind of guy who would be mainstream if anything,” Church initially took a conciliatory attitude toward the coal operators.

Church has a reputation as temperamental and even thuggish,” partly stemming from an incident in which he shoved around a union attorney. It is hard to tell whether he will adopt the undemocratic style that Miller increasingly employed, which certainly is part of the union tradition. There are some good signs: rather than go along with Miller's plans for having 150 “ushers” to keep order at the upcoming convention, Church agreed to have only 50. Also he dropped Miller's plan to abolish the Bargaining Council, which has to approve contracts before they are sent to the members.

Yet he did not immediately call an election for vice-president, as the union constitution specifies, but postponed a decision until the convention, leading some to suspect that he would try to control that position. Also, Church's appointment of some former Miller aides to staff positions will bring the union back to more effective operating power, but those people are generally not seen as contributing to any reinvigorated progressive activity by the union.

Revival

Continued from page 3.

they go to arbitration,” Ostro says. “Where strikebreakers used to hide their heads, roll up their collars and wear dark glasses, now they stroll through the picket lines. Ads are placed in papers soliciting strikebreakers, paying even \$1,000 a week. The employers are coming out of the closet, bringing anti-union consultants into the workplace to meet with employees in order to undermine their loyalty to each other. We can combat that.”

The combat tactics are often “guerrilla warfare,” he says. “There are many ways of doing that in a plant situation where we have members, but they’re not active, or where we might have stewards who are not well trained, or where the image of the union is poor with its own members. Basically it’s no different from techniques used to organize the plants originally, where you had to rally people around you in the cafeteria or at the workbench and talk about the problems.”

One tactic, which Ostro compares to “striking a plant without losing an hour’s work,” is described as “severing diplomatic relations with the employer.” If members approve the tactic, just as they would a formal strike, the plan includes such measures as “no worker will talk to his supervisor except for things purely a part of the job—no passing the time of day, no talk about baseball games or current events. You wouldn’t ride to work with your supervisor. You wouldn’t eat lunch with management personnel. The union members come together to the exclusion of everyone else. If the company posts notices on the bulletin boards, none of the employees read them. If the company hands out a house organ, nobody takes it. If the president of the corporation sends a letter to the home, it’s returned unopened.

“All of this is done in an organized way so that the employer understands that all of his employees are banding together behind their union and sending him a message: either you change

your policies inside this plant or you are our adversary and we’re going to attack accordingly. “It’s the old story of using the rulebook, and like on the railroad, when you follow the rules, things fall behind schedule.”

So far the tactic has been threatened once, but got results without being used. But the “reorganizing the organized” tactics have been used, such as in a United Technologies complex employing 30,000 workers. The Machinists were the bargaining agent, but only 13 percent of the workers belonged to the union. Within a year they had it up to 80 percent. They handed out union t-shirts to members, and badges to stewards. They held lunchtime meetings in the plant. All this made the presence of the union—and the solidarity of the members—evident not only to management but to other workers.

To bring younger workers into union activities, “we’re trying to return trade unionists to their roots, to get them to understand,” Ostro says, “not labor history, because that doesn’t really do it for them, but through the use of a labor sing-along following a meeting, so they can get the spirit of when those songs were written and why.”

Some intermediate officials were not attuned to the pressures workers felt on the shop floor, Ostro says. They had to be trained to do their job. Also, whether elected or appointed, union officials were told that they were accountable to members, just as politicians the union endorsed had to stand accountable.

The union makes its solidarity with workers elsewhere visible. When California farmworkers on strike needed food, the Machinists didn’t just send a check through the mail, Ostro says. They sent a truck load of food with a big banner on it that pointedly passed through every little agricultural community on the way to its destination.

It may simply be old-time unionism, as Ostro says, practiced since before there were unions and, in recent years, despite official union hostility to such “guerrilla warfare.” But it’s a significant step when the leadership of the union supports and encourages such rank and file activity and puts its trust in its members.

—David Moberg

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ATOMIC WORKERS

Health and safety strike gains ground

By Paul Fortney Jr. & Al DiFranco

OIL, CHEMICAL AND ATOMIC Workers (OCAW) unionists in Ohio last week moved a step closer to cleaning house at the western world's only bomb-grade uranium enrichment plant with a visit of a team of National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) investigators looking into job-related death figures and other safety issues.

In a case of the foxes guarding the hen-house, Goodyear Atomic Corporation, which has run the plant since 1955 for the Department of Energy (DOE), has ignored more than 2000 union health and safety grievances filed since 1976.

Operating on a cost-plus basis, Goodyear simply passes the expense of grievance litigation and other mis-management costs on to the taxpayers.

Besides having Uncle Sam at hand to pick up the tab, Goodyear and DOE have also blocked third party government investigators from inspecting the Portsmouth, Ohio, area facility on the grounds that it would be a breach of military secrecy—until last week.

That's when a NIOSH team, led by company and DOE officials along with union leaders, opened the doors for a closer look at the place where the stuff atomic bombs are made of—Uranium-235—is produced.

OCAW Local 3-689 president Dennis Bloomfield, who hadn't been inside the factory since his union struck May 3, told IN THESE TIMES the first areas viewed were "cleaned up real good" for the investigators. But he said plant officials were "surprised and confused" to learn NIOSH investigators had top-ranked "Q" security clearance to see parts of the 3000-acre maze of wires, pipes, motors and computers that have been off-limits to outsiders in the past.

A team of national health and safety investigators looked into job-related deaths at Goodyear Atomic Corp.



Members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union picketing.



Dennis Bloomfield, president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local 3-689 and Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) at a Senate hearing on nuclear safety at Goodyear Atomic Corporation.

Bloomfield said he also got a chance to see some of the scab laborers who have been keeping the plant going during the strike. He said some supervisory workers aren't up to date on training (OCAW members study at least 65 weeks for the job) and others are secretaries turned into nuclear technicians with a weekend's notice.

Unlike unions in most strikes, however, OCAW is not aiming for a complete shutdown of the facility.

The gaseous diffusion processing, Bloomfield said, sucks down as much electricity in a day as the city of Los Angeles and a shutdown of the series of half-mile long buildings would cool down equipment that has been operating at high temperatures since 1955. "There's a 90 percent chance cooling the plant down would wreck hundreds of huge, expensive electric motors and blow seals on everything," Bloomfield said.

There's also the chance, he said, that the shutdown, especially in the hands of ill-trained operators, could concentrate uranium to the point of releasing concrete penetrating, nearly instant death in the form of gamma radiation.

At press time, it was unclear if NIOSH would postpone its in-plant investigation until OCAW workers return to their jobs. But the safety and health team did gather up company records that the union expects will do much to explain why plant workers and area residents suffer the highest cancer death rate in the state. (Goodyear is responsible for monitoring the area's environmental radiation levels.)

OCAW took its fight to Washington last month, where a coalition of about 15 environmental and anti-nuclear activists coordinated by the Citizens Organization for a Sane Nuclear Policy (Sane) helped pressure both Ohio's senators into what Sane program coordinator Cliff Aron called a "confrontation."

He said Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio, "blew up when I asked him the simple question of what he would do if the GAO report bore out the union complaints, and he started giving me a hard time, asking me what business it was of mine to be involved. I told him whether we were anti-nuclear or not was irrelevant, but he ended up accusing us of trying to take away OCAW's jobs."

Aron said he responded by saying all he was interested in was safety, which was followed by applause from OCAW.

Aron said although anti-nuclear groups and OCAW nuclear workers have their differences on nuclear technology, "there was a real openness on their part to looking at our arguments."

The tense meeting resulted in promises from Glenn and Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio—generally more favorable to environmentalists and union-

ists than the former astronaut—to launch an investigation.

Commenting on the issue of DOE involvement in a labor dispute, Metzenbaum said, "There is nothing in the law that prevents DOE from protecting health just because there is a strike in progress."

Glenn said he has asked the General

Accounting Office to take "an independent look" at safety related labor problems at the plant.

"I want to put DOE on notice," Glenn said, "if they don't cooperate in these investigations, we can always go the Congressional hearing route and bring this whole thing into the public light."

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AFL-CIO

Continued from page 3.

The thorniest point of disagreement in working out the accord, which set up a Pay Advisory Board, was the administration's desire to set a percentage figure as an overall wage guideline. Kirkland held out to keep the guidelines flexible, and still is arguing for a variety of pay standards so that low-wage workers can get higher percentage increases.

"It is quite an historic document," AFL-CIO spokesman Allen Zack said, echoing Kirkland and Meany's sentiments from the podium. "It's about as far as you can go toward such a contract here in the U.S. without a parliamentary system. Never before had the legitimate role of the labor movement been recognized in such a way."

The administration had wanted more concessions, such as AFL-CIO approval of its health insurance plan, but in the end what Carter got was AFL-CIO legitimation of his new, to-be-determined standards and a political opening to labor for the primaries and after.

"We permitted ourselves to be politically used," Zack said. "Clearly the Carter administration intends to make political hay out of it." However, when Carter did appear before an initially cool convention audience, he instead made political hay out of tough talk on Iran, one of the few things he could have used to such advantage.

Hesitancy on Kennedy.

The accommodation with labor may have softened some opposition to Carter in labor's ranks, but it does not entirely explain why Ted Kennedy, the presumed beneficiary of the strains between labor and Carter, did not receive overwhelming accolades as labor's savior. Kennedy was not invited to address the convention, but he spoke to an energetic crowd of around 800 (not all delegates) at a reception hosted by presidents of 16 unions.

The hesitation of many leaders to endorse Kennedy did not come solely from their recognition that they had to deal with a sitting President for more than a year to come. A few progressive unionists, who might have been expected to leap on a Kennedy bandwagon, hesitated, wondering if he was quite as liberal as his reputation said. Others, such as Carter-backer Glen Watts of the communication workers, waved the red flag, warning that Kennedy was the darling of "the same left wing of the Democratic party" that nominated Sen. George McGovern in 1972. An Associated Press poll showed Kennedy the favorite by a two to one margin among those delegates who had a commitment, but a substantial 40 percent were still uncommitted.

Labor wants greater assurance that its weight will be felt, whoever the candidate is. To that end California state federation president John Henning has set aside the second day of the state executive council meeting, Dec. 6, for a discussion of "the feasibility of a labor party."

"Most of us feel the two-party system is no longer serving the economic and political needs of the labor movement," he said. Partly the move is in reaction to Proposition 13, and the way the Democrats including Jerry Brown, have caught the budget-slashing fever. But also it comes from a recognition that corporations spent 72 percent of all political money in the state in 1978 (not counting initiatives), and labor only 8 percent. "A great bit of that [corporate money] went into the Democratic party," Henning observes. Starting a new party would be difficult, he acknowledges, but the discussion is symptomatic of the search for new strategies that was evident despite the appearance of holding to the same old course at the convention.

Although not connected with the new Citizens party organizing, Henning noted that such moves "indicate a disenchantment in liberal circles with the present system. There are these democratic socialist movements, too, and all this can't be ignored."

Iranians

Continued from page 5.

year ago, MCOB recounted, the shah and his ruling clique systematically plundered the country. Trade unions and opposition political parties were outlawed and smashed. The shah's gestapo-like SAVAK, trained and equipped by the CIA, imposed a reign of terror by murdering and maiming thousands, MCOB charged. By 1978, Iran, with 55 hospitals for 36 million people, was buying 40 percent of all U.S. arms sold abroad. The weapons were often used against the Iranian people, who have apparently not forgotten what American complicity means.

MCOB called a rally on Nov. 16 to celebrate the administration's cancellation of its plans for massive registration and fingerprinting of Iranian students. More than 600 people attended a noon-time meeting to "stop racial deportation," and 300 later marched to denounce the ex-shah and support the rights of alien residents in the U.S. A teach-in is also planned in order to facilitate "a more rational understanding of the present crisis."

In a similarly motivated development at California State University at Sacramento, 350 people attended a teach-in organized by faculty members Nov. 20. Marian Kushida, a Japanese-American who along with many other first and second generation Japanese-Americans was imprisoned in a concentration camp during World War II, discussed her experience and stressed the need to defend the rights of foreign nationals before they suffer a similar fate.

Other speakers reviewed anti-immigrant hysteria during and after World War I, pointing out that the espionage and sedition acts served primarily as a means to create a unity of purpose and support for an unpopular war. Similarly, it was argued, post-World War II anti-Mexican attitudes in California were used to destroy unions among agricultural and

cannery workers, whose leaders were deported to Mexico. Defending the civil liberties of Iranians in the U.S. had nothing to do with support for the seizing of hostages, said John Livingston, who chaired the meeting and denounced the embassy assault.

Speakers tried to distinguish between disapproval of this latest turn in the Iranian revolution and a sympathetic understanding of the reasons for Iranian rage against American actions. Historian Sally Wagner reviewed the ex-shah's history of torturing dissidents, which had been hidden from the American people by a press that was blind to human rights violations until its ally was overthrown.

But despite the various crimes of which the ex-shah is guilty, extradition is unacceptable to policy makers in Washington, another speaker, John Henry, said, because other dictators supported by the U.S., like Anastasio Somoza or South Vietnam's Ky, have to know they will find refuge here if popular revolutions are successful in their countries.

"David Rockefeller has lost control of Iranian oil fields," Henry said, "and for him that's bad." We must expect Rockefeller, Henry Kissinger, and former CIA chief John McCloy to do whatever they can to regain control of the oil, he added. And we should expect the mass media, who earlier helped to shape a positive attitude towards the shah, to remain biased in favor of the oil interests and against the Iranian people, he said.

William Dorman, an expert on media coverage of Iran, closed the teach-in by referring to press approval of the unity of Americans over the Iranian crisis as "healthy." He called for a real understanding of the Iranian people's quest for freedom and said, "Unity based on hatred is the very opposite of health."

As if to prove the teach-in's criticisms of the press true, Sacramento's major newspaper, the *Bee*, misrepresented the teach-in as insensitive to the hostages in Iran and as supporting Khomeini's actions. In an editorial the *Bee* called the teach-in a sad example of "knee-jerkism" that did not befit an institution of higher learning.

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By Amy Robbins

IN THE WORLD

RESIDENTS OF NEW YORK, SAN Francisco and Washington may have been surprised on Oct. 27 to find a political manifesto from the Guatemalan Guerrilla Army of the Poor, or EGP, covering two full pages of their local newspapers. But Guatemalans who found similar manifestos on radio, TV and in all the newspapers a week earlier were not. The communique, and the kidnapping that gave rise to its publication, are only the latest in a series of acts by popular and revolutionary groups. Such actions have increased fears among Guatemala's ruling circles that it may soon become "another Nicaragua."

On Oct. 7, in an action planned to coincide with the twelfth anniversary of Che Guevara's death, the EGP kidnapped Jorge Raul Garcia Granados. The conditions for his release were the publication of several manifestos and a ransom rumored to be over \$8 million. They had good reason to think their demands would be met: Garcia Granados is the son, and business manager, of possibly the most powerful man in Guatemala. Raul Garcia Granados, his father, is the country's largest cotton grower, as well as financial backer and personal advisor to the country's president, General Romeo Lucas Garcia. The two are also distantly related.

The kidnapping, according to Guatemala's influential daily, *La Nacion*, put the government on the defensive for the first time since it assumed power in 1978, after an election universally denounced as fraudulent.

It has also pointed out the growing capacity and influence of the EGP. Formed in 1972 after the defeat of the 1960s guerrilla movement, the organization now boasts three fronts throughout the country. It has taken over several major towns both in the northern mountain regions and on the coast: there were 37 such takeovers in just two months of this year.

Revolutionary groups.

The EGP is one of the country's four armed revolutionary organizations. The Rebel Armed Forces, FAR, one wing of the PGT or Communist Party, and the recently formed ORPA are also active. In their communique, the EGP writes of a process of unity among these organizations, around the strategy of "revolutionary popular war." The strategy, they say, includes insurrections in the cities and towns combined with guerrilla warfare in the countryside, leading to the defeat of the Army and the construction of popular power.

The EGP and its sister organizations are not the only problem worrying President Lucas' government and its rich backers. The regime also faces increasing opposition from labor, peasant, student and professional groups. On Sept. 27, a week before the kidnapping, 100 Ixil Indian peasants from the northern town of Uspantan invaded the National Congress. They brought white flowers to symbolize their peaceful intentions, but the tale they told was far from peaceful: seven peasant leaders kidnapped by the Army in full sight of their neighbors, houses and crops burned, women raped.

"Before the Army came, our lives were tranquil, now all we know is kidnapping and killing, since the Army and landowners are trying to take away our lands," the peasants complained. Official response was immediate. As the peasants left the Congressional hall they were surrounded by police and two were jailed, along with twelve student and union supporters, for "subversive activity."

The town of Uspantan is typical of the problems of northern Guatemala. Until recently a mountainous backwater where Indian peasants eked out a meager living on third, tiny plots, leaving their ancestral homes only once a year to work as dollar-wage earners on the large coastal export farms, the town is now part of the country's latest boom area. The Northern Transversal Strip, with its copper, nickel, oil and agricultural riches, has become coveted land for the military rulers of Guatemala. President Lucas himself



Road workers protesting government failure to bring wages back to pre-earthquake levels, top. Government troops in Chichicastenango.

Guatemala rebels gain momentum

General Lucas' oppressive regime faces opposition from four armed groups, labor, peasants and others.

owns 120,000 acres, and his advisors and ministers hold similar amounts. According to the Catholic Church, over 300 peasants have disappeared from the area for protesting Army attempts to throw them off their lands.

One of those who heard the Uspantan peasants' pleas that day in Congress was Dr. Carlos Gallardo, a surgeon and the only surviving Congressional representative from Guatemala's small Democratic Socialist Party, or PSD. Gallardo's colleague, and the party's founder, Dr. Alberto Fuentes Mohr, was shot down in mid-Guatemala City last January, a day after announcing his party's intention formally to register. An investigation was never conducted and no killer was found, but Gallardo, like most Guatemalans, holds the government responsible.

In fact, says Gallardo, there have been almost 3,000 victims of official oppression killed since the present government took office. Among them are three university student association presidents (the latest "disappearance" took place Oct. 20), a priest, three leading social-democratic politicians, two labor lawyers, eight union officials and hundreds of rank and file unionists, peasant, student and religious activists.

Most of the time, no one sees the killings. The only clues are the tortured and mutilated bodies found, at the rate of eight per day, on roadsides and ravines throughout the country, and the armed

men in official cars with their license plates hidden who come to take the victims away. They leave messages from groups with names like the "secret Anti-Communist Army," but are known to Guatemalans as members of Army intelligence and the president's own secret police, the "regional."

Sometimes the accusations are more specific: the EGP accused Army Chief of Staff General David Cancinos of ordering Fuentes Mohr's death and of personally supervising, from a low-flying helicopter, the March 22 assassination of Guatemala's most popular progressive politician, Manuel Colom Argueta of the social-democratic FUR party. On June 20, the EGP killed Cancinos.

The response.

The popular movement has turned to more militant tactics in response to this oppression. In June, forty workers from the Panamtex textile plant occupied the Mexican Embassy protesting union-busting moves by the plant owner. On Oct. 14, workers who had been fired for union activity from El Izotal coffee farm and San Antonio textile factory peacefully occupied El Calvario church in downtown Guatemala City.

In an open letter to the priest, they explained that the takeover represented their last chance to be heard. "We haven't been paid since last December, and our union is being destroyed. We've gone through all the Ministries and courts,

but to no avail. Last week, we decided to stage a protest march from San Miguel Duenas to the capital, but for no reason the police broke it up. So we decided to make our plight known, protected by a temple of God."

They asked for church mediation to settle the dispute. However, police assaulted the church and forced the occupants out with tear gas and clubs. As the protesters and their supporters were herded onto police buses, a crowd of several thousand bystanders cheering them was also dispersed. Most of the arrested protesters were later freed, some say after threats from the EGP that they would kill the kidnapped Garcia Granados if anything happened to the protesters. But the leader of the takeover, Miguel Archila, was not so lucky. His tortured and mutilated body, shot through the back, showed up several hours after his arrest on a road outside Guatemala City.

Gallardo describes the response: "For the popular forces of Guatemala, the victory of the FSLN in Nicaragua is an example to be followed. Especially important for us was the example of unity. In Guatemala, we are building our own unity through the Democratic Front Against Repression, which has doubled in size since its inception last February."

The FDCR is the broadest political alliance ever built in the country. It includes almost all the country's unions, the farmworker and peasant association CUC, high-school and university students, shanty-town dwellers, Christians, journalists, professionals and the PSD and FUR social-democratic parties. Its platform is simple: an active fight against oppression and defense of peoples' basic rights.

In a statement commemorating its first 200 days of existence, the FDCR enumerated recent victories: "For the first time, the oppressive government was forced to free three kidnapped union leaders on the banana plantations. The high school students won a victory over the Colonel who acts as Education Minister. Through a nationwide strike in solidarity with the students of Quezaltenango, they forced him to rescind expulsion orders for 5000 students. In the highlands, the Indians of San Martin Jilotepeque and Senahu rescued their comrades from the jails of the police. On the southern coast, the police were forced to admit that they were holding union leaders from the Palo Gordo mill who had been kidnapped days before for requesting a better collective bargaining agreement."

The government has also been affected by the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua: it sees the parallels all too well. Like Somoza before them, government and business leaders blame the present unrest on a "Communist conspiracy" which includes everyone from the EGP to Jimmy Carter and Amnesty International.

In another Somoza-like move, the clique around Lucas and Garcia Granados are busily using the state budget and apparatus to get rich before their time runs out. Besides land-grabbing in the north (Lucas before becoming president administered the "development plans" for the area), they have muscled in on the traditional owners of the lucrative beer and cement industries. Government tourist development plans call for the construction of a new airport, port and highway to the coast—conveniently to be built on land owned by Garcia Granados.

Exodus.

Widespread government corruption is just one aspect of a worsening economic picture. Fearing the spread of Sandinista-type insurrection, Guatemala's tiny elite—389 families own three quarters of the land—has begun to flee. Central Bank estimates show \$200 million in capital flight since July. Particularly alarming to industrialists is the breakdown of the Central American Common Market.

The CACM, set up under U.S. guidance in the wake of the Cuban Revolution, allowed U.S. companies to set up plants in the area which enjoyed easy access to the combined consumer market of all five member countries. The war in Nicaragua and the reorientation of Nica-

Continued on page 16.

ISRAEL



Threat to expel Palestinian mayor rallies opposition

By David Mandel

AS THE RUGGED MOUNTAINS of southern Sinai were ceremoniously being handed over to Egypt and as Israeli and Egyptian negotiators met for the umpteenth time in Tel Aviv to politely discuss their differences over the plan for Palestinian self-rule, West Bank army officers and Jerusalem politicians were receiving a difficult and painful lesson today in the limits of occupation.

But the Israeli leaders are proving to be very slow learners. Under fire at home and abroad, they still seem determined to expel the mayor of Nablus, the West Bank's largest city, from the country. And afraid of a confrontation with supporters of settlers at Eilon Moreh who face court-ordered evacuation, the government also adopted a major new settlement program for the territories.

Bassam Shaka, elected in 1976 when pro-PLO mayors took office in most of the occupied territories' cities, has long been one especially annoying to the military authorities. He is one of the more popular and militantly pro-PLO leaders, and runs a city that has been the scene of well-organized and massive civil opposition to occupation.

Shaka led a column of over a thousand marchers who tried to reach the nearby Jewish settlement of Eilon Moreh shortly after it was founded last June. Israel's Supreme Court has now declared the settlement illegal and ordered it removed, but then Shaka and several others were arrested, and there was talk about firing him and expelling him from the country.

Defense Minister Ezer Weizman overruled such extreme measures then, and Mayor Shaka returned to city hall. But on Nov. 6, an hysterical public campaign began against him after he held a private political discussion initiated by General Danny Matt, in charge of running the West Bank, and other high officers in the military administration.

Expulsion order.

Shortly after the discussion ended with a friendly handshake, according to the mayor, radio and newspaper headlines screamed that Shaka had expressed support of and identification with Pales-



tinians whose attack on a bus a year and a half ago led to the death of over 30 civilians. Three days later an expulsion order was issued—subject to a pending appeal in the Supreme Court. On Nov. 11, Shaka was arrested and put in solitary confinement.

Opposition to the expulsion order began to mount after Shaka's side of the story was reported in at least some of the press. A TV interview with him scheduled for the weekly Friday night news magazine after the uproar began was censored by the recently appointed director of the state-run broadcasting authority, and journalists interrupted the program with two minutes of silence in protest.

Nevertheless, Israel's major morning newspapers all came out against the threatened expulsion, pointing out the damage that would be done to Israel's Palestinian self-rule plan. Shaka's charges that his remarks had been distorted and taken out of context began to get some coverage, and then on Nov. 12, *Ha'Aretz* published a transcript of the conversation, as taped by one of the Israeli officers present.

The transcript showed that Shaka had clearly condemned the one specific atrocity mentioned by General Danny Matt—

Israeli Peace Loyalists call for negotiations with the PLO and for creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. On the West Bank Arab mayors resigned in protest.

throwing a child into flames. Asked four times whether he "personally justified" the attack, the mayor said again and again that the violence was "because of the situation...if such things happen, they are only reactions to other things. Israel, as a state, [also] reacts cruelly—for instance in Southern Lebanon. As long as there is occupation and killing, you can expect many such actions."

The uproar was apparently instigated by some of the army officers who met with Shaka, as a tactic to force Defense Minister Ezer Weizman to adopt a more hard-line policy. Weizman has taken a relatively strong stand lately against plans to expand Jewish settlement on Arab-cultivated land, and in favor of dialogue with local Palestinians.

Embarrassed by all the publicity and angry that he only heard of the conversation "in the newspapers," Weizman impulsively decided, after short consultations with other cabinet ministers, that Shaka would be expelled. He may have come to regret the decision a little later when the truth about the conversation came out, but backing down is always difficult, especially for a general and a Defense Minister. Weizman's deputy covered for him by explaining that the dis-

puted conversation was only the last straw—Shaka's presence had long been "a security breach," he explained, and "there is only so much a democratic and tolerant state can take."

Weizman invited four of the more conservative West Bank mayors to meet with him on Nov. 13, prompting speculation that he was seeking a solution that would allow him to back down gracefully. He promised an answer to their request for Shaka's release by the next day after a special cabinet security council meeting. The four mayors agreed to delay their threatened resignation until then.

But 13 other mayors had already quit, and the more radical West Bankers who were pushing for early mass resignation of all the area's town councils got their way the next day when a very clear "no" came from the government. "Unanimously," it was announced, the ministers decided to go ahead with the expulsion.

An ironic attempt was made by the Israeli news media to exaggerate tactical differences among the mayors: the West Bankers have all repeated their identification of the PLO as their representative so often that no one can any longer pretend otherwise. Nevertheless, Israeli analysts this week tried to paint the so-called "moderates" as sympathizers of Yasser Arafat's Fatah Group and the others as "rejectionists." But the distinction does not exist in the canons of Israeli propaganda—they are all "terrorists," and Bassam Shaka was supposedly being banished from his homeland for identifying with them.

The high court.

Attention is now focused on the high court of justice, which is called upon to rule on a controversial issue of occupation policy. The hearing has been postponed, apparently in the hope that tempers will subside.

But a reduction in tension looks unlikely. Following affirmation of the decision to expel, commercial strikes spread from Nablus and Ramallah to most other West Bank towns, including East Jerusalem, usually one of the last to react. A few demonstrations and instances of stone-throwing have been suppressed since Shaka was jailed. Mayors meeting in Nablus on Nov. 15 declared that they would begin a hunger strike.

The military government, while promising that it could run things just fine without the mayors if need be, was bracing itself for an almost certain outbreak of civil disorder throughout the territories if Shaka is actually thrown out of the country.

On the Israeli side of Jerusalem on Nov. 12, 200 supporters of the Peace Loyalists bloc, an umbrella organization, held a demonstration at the foreign ministry in support of Shaka. The protestors also called for negotiations between Israel and the PLO for peace based on a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Prof. Daniel Amit of the Hebrew University denounced the expulsion attempt, saying that the government's real aim was to deprive West Bank Palestinians of one of their most central spokespeople and to intimidate others into passive acceptance of the occupation. "I agree with Shaka that unfortunately, violence will continue as long as the occupation does," Amit declared. "If he is guilty, then let the military government expel me too."

In another well-planned demonstration the day before, about 150 members of the Israeli Black Panthers, Jewish slum-dwellers of Afro-Asian origin, invaded one of the West Bank settlements and held a three-hour sit-in until they were forcibly removed by the army. It was the first such demonstration in years by the group, whose constituency has historically supported Israel's rightist parties. But the radical Panthers found a persuasive argument this time in pointing out that tens of thousands of government dollars per family have gone to build and defend the new settlements while the slums of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv fester.

DENMARK

Inflation curbs of new government reflect left shift

By Bruce Vandervort
and Erik Christensen

GENEVA

THE DANISH GOVERNMENT HAS just taken emergency measures to control inflation that includes a wage, price and profits freeze until the end of the year, higher interest rates on mortgages and a stop to the sale of apartments. Passage of these measures was preceded by consultations with the powerful Danish trade union confederation (LO). Failure to consult with the unions prior to introducing a wage-price freeze this fall had brought down a Liberal/Social Democratic coalition government and provoked general elections on Oct. 26.

The elections resulted in a qualified victory for the Social Democratic Party, its leader, Anker Jorgensen (also the outgoing Prime Minister), and—indirectly—for the trade unions. Prior to the elections, the right wing had claimed that anti-union feeling in the country was so strong that labor support would be a liability for the Social Democrats. As it turned out, union backing increased the Social Democratic vote.

The main reason for the outcome of the elections seems to have been voter disenchantment with several new or extremist parties. The older and more

moderate parties gained votes, with the left of center parties outdistancing those to the right of center.

Some commentators have seen the Danish vote as a reversal of the trend in the other Scandinavian countries. This view, however, may be over-simplified. Although the Swedish general elections (also in October) produced a right-wing government, a close look at the results shows that the swing was slightly to the left. The votes of expatriate Swedes, living in tax shelters abroad, were needed to narrowly avert a Social Democratic victory. The shift to the right in the recent Norwegian local elections also deserves careful examination, as local results are often quite different from national ones.

In the Danish case, the political waters are even muddier than in other Scandinavian countries, where there is normally a straight choice between right or left majority governments. The reason is the profusion of small and medium sized parties, some of which look practically identical except to a Dane.

All told, the left of center parties won 100 of the 179 seats in the Danish parliament in October. However, on the recommendation of the various party leaders, the Social Democrats were once again charged with forming a minority government. A majority Left coalition government was ruled out because of the diversity of political shades represented

let alone advocate. They are therefore reluctant to throw themselves into the Kennedy campaign. Working on the campaign is a tactical decision, as Shelterforce's John Atlas explained, premised on Kennedy's ability to prevent a total defection of the electorate (which always benefits the right) and his commitment to certain strands of American liberalism and idealism that could provide a more fertile soil for an anti-corporate left than the arid postulates of the anti-big government right.

At the Democratic Agenda, speakers counselled the delegates to set their sights not on 1980, but on the 1980s. "We have to make clear what we want to be on the platform of the Democratic party," New York City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger told the Conference's closing session. "But that is not enough, because in January 1980 we will have someone for president, and even if he is the person we worked for, we are going to be disappointed. There is no one man who can change this country. We know historically that the power of the presidency is clearly bendable to the will of those who have money power and most direct access to that office."

Messinger told the delegates they must build a movement in the 1980s so that "the tasks we face in 1989 look less awesome." Messinger advised the delegates and the organizations they represented to begin running their own candidates for state and local offices and to begin reforming the electoral process so that corporate power cannot dictate election results. But she warned that they would also have to "go beyond electoral activity."

"It is the responsibility of the people here," Messinger said, "to see that the Democratic Agenda moves around, in between, and outside of electoral politics, moves into communities, unions, into local organizations and neighborhood organizations." Only through this kind of activity, Messinger argued, could the many poor and working people who do not even vote now be brought back into the electoral arena.

"Our agenda is to build the concrete left organization America needs for the next decade," Messinger concluded. ■



Anker Jorgensen, the old and the new Social Democratic Prime Minister.

to the left of center. From left to right, the spectrum runs something like this:

Left Socialists: Marxist/Trotskyist
Socialist Peoples' Party: Moderate Marxist, anti-CP

Social Democrats: modeled closely on the German SPD

Social Liberals (Radicals): welfare state-oriented; based among small holders, fishermen and intellectuals

Single-Tax Party: the only surviving Henry Georgist party outside Canada.

The Left Socialists are basically anti-parliamentarian, which rules them out of any governing coalition. The Social Democrats could probably work with any or all of the other three parties, but as the two parties to their right and the Socialist Peoples' Party dislike each other, a majority coalition government is out of the question. Add to this the fact that the Social Democrats are not overly fond of the Socialist People's Party.

Nor was a coalition of the right in the cards. This had been hoped for by the right-wing electoral alliance—the so-called "four leaf clover" made up of the Conservative, Liberal, Center Democrat and Christian People's Parties—but was torpedoed when the Social Democrats polled more votes than the four together. The situation on the right is further complicated by the fact that none of the four find it possible to work with the so-called Progress Party, whose leader, Mogens Glistrup, is at present fighting an indictment for tax evasion, and has increasingly identified himself with the neo-Nazi faction within his party. This seems to explain why the Progress Party lost six of its 26 parliamentary seats in the October elections and went from second to fourth place in national political prominence.

In some ways, the parties that lost in the elections offer a better guide to the current Danish political climate than the winners. The Progress Party's loss was probably due to a split in its ranks caused by its leader's overt flirtation with neo-nazism and his claim that unless there was drastic political change in Denmark, "blood would flow in the streets."

Ironically, a party split also cost the

Communists all seven of their parliamentary seats and sent them into political limbo. Shortly before the elections, several party executive members were expelled, including the popular chief shop steward of the Elsinore shipyard, who is also mayor of the town. This move almost wiped out the CP in Hamlet's home town, one of its traditional strongholds. The president of the Danish Seamen's Union, Preben Moller Hansen, was kicked off the executive at the same time, but not out of the party until after the election. More recently, the seamen's section of the Danish CP has been abolished. Since the shipyards and the seamen's section were the traditional cornerstones of the party, further political difficulties can be expected.

The Center Democrats, a new party formed by disaffected Social Democrats and others, also took a beating, losing 5 of its 11 seats. This fall may be blamed on the party's close links with the Conservatives in the last parliament.

A new ultra-left party, the Communist Workers' Party, polled 0.45 percent of the vote. As the party had never stood before, it "gained" in a technical sense, but failed to elect any deputies.

The most interesting group on the winning side may be the "indirect" winners. A record 42 of the 179 seats in the Danish parliament are now held by women, who in some cases outran their own parties' top candidates in their districts.

As a result of the elections, the number of parties in parliament was cut from 11 to 10. This may make it easier for the Prime Minister, Anker Jorgensen, to carry out his stated policy of reaching a broad consensus on most of the major issues before the country.

This consensus will have to include even further measures to get Denmark out of its present inflationary spiral, its serious balance of payments deficit, and its indebtedness to the International Monetary Fund and other banking institutions. ■
Bruce Vandervort is ITT's Geneva correspondent. Erik Christensen is the Geneva correspondent of the Danish Labor Press.

Agenda

Continued from page 2.

cut Democrat Louis Zemel advised one workshop that a precise question on corporate power should be formulated and addressed to Kennedy, and "if he doesn't answer us, then the hell with him."

New Jersey tenant organizer John Atlas, who is working for Kennedy, attributed the general lack of enthusiasm to Kennedy's current campaign strategy. "How can people get excited when he's moving so fast to the right?"

The most pronounced and significant detachment from the Kennedy campaign occurred among the younger delegates. Some young DSOC and Public Interest Research Group (PIRG) delegates supported the Citizen's party. "I'm not going to lift a finger for Teddy Kennedy," said Matt McNaught, a College of Staten Island student who works in DSOC's national office. McNaught said he was going to work in the Citizens party campaign in New York. In the heavily attended youth workshop, none of the speakers mentioned the Kennedy campaign.

DSOC National Director Jim Chapin estimated that among the delegates only a fourth were openly and strongly pro-Kennedy, while a half were pro-Kennedy but still uncommitted, and a fourth were gravitating toward the Citizens party. While these fractions may not indicate a groundswell for the Citizens party, they do indicate a surprising lack of support for Kennedy among people who would be expected to comprise his active base.

Wait for 1989.

The Conference revealed, if anything, that the American left remains in a holding pattern. It does not have agreement to field a candidate that could represent all its constituents. But a growing number of leftists recognize that today's problems require solutions that no leading Democrat is willing to contemplate,

Organizational Directory

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for their listing.

COIN-CONSUMERS
OPPOSED TO INFLATION IN
THE NECESSITIES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 413
Washington, D.C. 20036

MIDWEST ACADEMY
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

NAM-NEW AMERICAN
MOVEMENT
3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

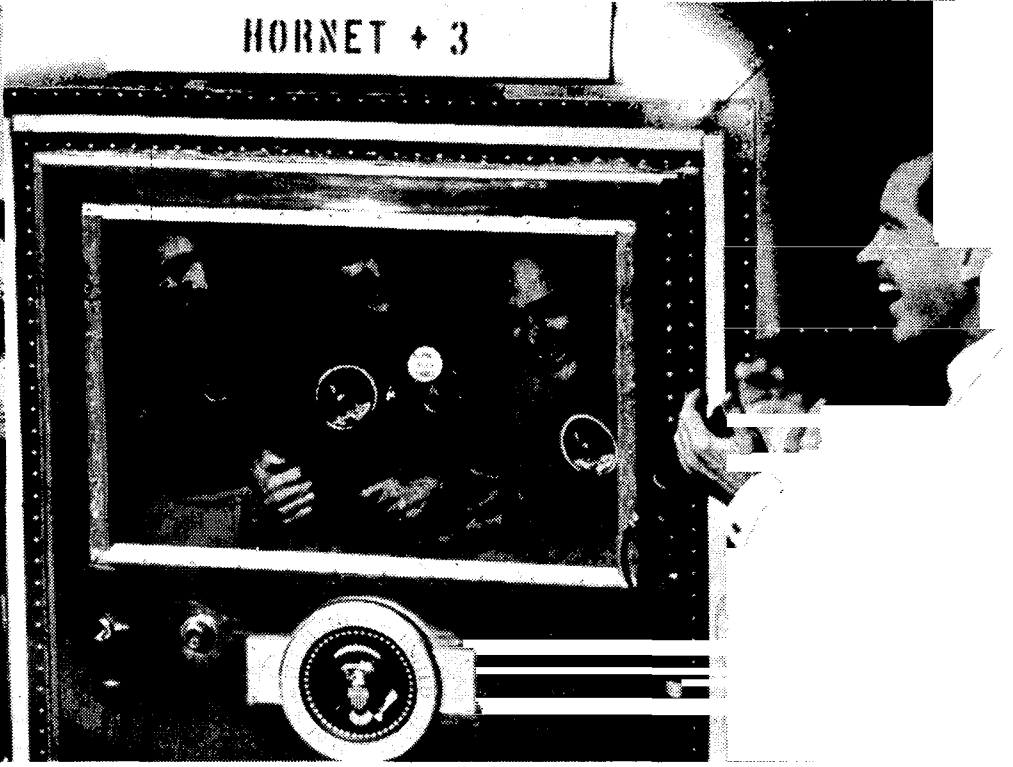
DSOC-DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALIST ORGANIZING
COMMITTEE
853 Broadway, Room 617
New York, NY 10003

NATIONAL CENTER FOR
ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES
2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036

WORKING WOMEN
1258 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44111



Left to right: Larry Rivers, Jack Kerouac, David Amram, 1958.



Nixon congratulates Apollo 11 astronauts, 1969.

BEATS, SPACEMEN, HI



DESOLATE ANGEL: Jack Kerouac, the Beat Generation and America
By Dennis McNally
Random House, \$15.00

HEART BEAT: My Life with Jack and Neal
By Carolyn Cassady
Creative Arts, \$4.00 (paper).

FERLINGHETTI: A Biography
By Neeli Cherkovski
Doubleday, \$10.95.

By Derk Richardson

Every generation needs its punks. Someone to chew up the accepted values of an age and spit them back into complacent faces. In the '50s, the "beatniks" were the cultural outlaws who roamed the margins of American society. Three books—*Desolate Angel*, *Heart Beat* and *Ferlinghetti*—address the aesthetic origins, the contradictions and the legacies of the transitional "beat generation."

McNally attempts to portray the underside of an age through the life of its great symbolic figure, Jack Kerouac. His book is rich with insightful if diffuse and undisciplined speculation on the beats' relationship to mainstream American culture.

Through reference to the political reaction, material progress and cultural stagnation of the period, McNally shows how Kerouac and his growing legion of compatriots did not fit into a world of Smith Act Trials and McCarthy hearings, placid consumerism and two-car garages, Mickey Spillane and TV Westerns.

For Kerouac, Ginsberg, Burroughs, Ferlinghetti and others, the alternative to being victimized by the domestic Cold War was a risky commitment to personal creativity. They found themselves grasping for a shadowy cultural heritage that would give them a radical American identity. In Walt Whitman (Ginsberg's "dear father, graybeard, lonely old courage-teacher") they found a metaphysics of freedom, democracy, patriotism and passion; in John Dos Passos, a critical journalistic realism; and in Thomas Wolfe, the reassurance that one could be a genuinely "American" dreamer without compromising personal integrity.

The beat writers threw themselves into their search for the real America in the night-world of Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler—a world haunted and enlivened by other misfits and outcasts from buttoned-down, conformist, Eisenhower America.

Although he had been a child of the white swing music of Benny Goodman, Kerouac did not realize the liberating potential of jazz until he heard the exciting black big bands of Jimmy Lunceford, Count Basie and Fletcher Henderson at Harlem's Apollo Theater. The naked, ardent soul of saxophonist Lester Young became the signature of spiritual greatness, and soon after, the furious abandon and overwhelming spontaneity of Charlie Parker became the model for unfettered, immediate creativity. The wondrous night world also provided drugs, mind-altering solvents to cut through conventional modes of thought and representation.

"I want deep form," wrote Kerouac, "poetic form, the way consciousness really digs everything that happens." Kerouac wanted to let go into an almost biological form of writing—to write spontaneously, outwards from a burning center, until details and words pile up into a fluid frenzy of notes and rhythms.

Direct, immediate expression in unaffected, unconventional styles, whether hot, scattered bebop like Kerouac or cool and measured jazz like Ferlinghetti, became the hallmark of beat writing, and was paralleled in the abstract expressionist painting of Jackson Pollack, Franz Kline, Mark Rothko and Clifford Still.

Having developed a form they believed to be true to the dark heart of America, the beats directed their attention outward to a critique of the corrupt body politic. But like other counter-cultural fugitives, the coherence of their community never matched that of their aesthetic

form. The beat stance often boiled down to a lament for lost opportunities, contempt for lock-step adherence to false values, and derision of the resignation to anxiety and authority.

Later both Ginsberg and Ferlinghetti would become more explicitly political, travelling to Chile and Cuba, reading
Continued on page 14.



RIGHT STUFF
By Tom Wolfe
Farrar, Straus & Giroux, \$12.95

By Robert Schaeffer

Tom Wolfe's latest book *The Right Stuff* could be summed up by the old Vitalis slogan "Some guys have it, some guys never will." Who has the right stuff, and it is *it*? Test pilots, fighter jocks, rocket riders and astronauts have the right stuff—the ability to hang their ass over the edge of the abyss, the great yawn, and return to tell about *it*. Except they can't really talk about *it*, because to mention *it* by name is to debase it, profane it, and show that you don't really have *it*.

The Right Stuff opens at the dawn of the space age, when the Soviets had just launched Sputnik, the shot-heard-round-the-world. Wolfe follows the trajectory of a few military pilots from junior officers living in God-awful military bases, to human guinea pigs of the new space 'science,' to national heroes, living trophies of the right stuff by the end of NASA's Mercury program sometime in 1963. For Wolfe that was the golden age of space chivalry and Cold War Camelot. It was a time when "single combat warriors" rose into the sky to joust with the

Soviet knight-mare "the Mighty Integral."

There are several entertaining subplots. The former pilots, now astronauts, attempting to wrest some human pilot control over the space vehicles from the white-starched-labcoat rocket-scientist types who would make monkeys out of them. The battle waged for pilot control over the machine, human error and all, is won.

Then there is the fight over which astronaut will make the best representative of God, Country and Family. The title "Mr. Christian Virtue" is claimed by the sanctimonious Marine John Glenn (now senator from Ohio).

Finally, Wolfe tells of the selling of space, a kind of land rush in intergalactic real estate speculation) to the American people. Wolfe tells how the 'fast and dirty' rocket program was chosen over the X-15 jet-rocket program (forerunner of the Space Shuttle), and how the astronauts made a profit in this bargain basement approach to 'manned' space flight.

But 436 pages is well beyond Wolfe's capacity to innovate effectively. He's really an essayist, and a good one. After about 100 pages he's used up his powers of description, and he's unable to keep the book in orbit.

Women never will.

Are astronauts, in Wolfe's view, the only ones with the right stuff? Or do other people have it too?

Well, the wives of the astronauts have some. It kind of rubs off on them, like angel dust. They get it by maintaining a rigid military stoicism while hubby hangs his ass over the edge. But other women don't have it. Some guys have it, women never will.

Blacks don't have it. Wolfe notes on page 419 that Kennedy "was determined that NASA have at least one Negro astronaut" and that there were too many *more* qualified whites. Earlier, though, he repeatedly asserts that the astronauts chosen by NASA were supremely 'over-qualified.'

Non-Christians don't have it. Of the 12 original astronauts (apostles), not one was Jewish or even Catholic. Clearly the Protestant Ethic is the cloth out of which the right stuff is made.

Wolfe picks up in this book where he left off in his last (*Mauve Gloves and Madmen, Clutter and Vine*). In "The Truest Sport—Jousting with Charlie and Sam" Wolfe wrote about navy fighter-bomber pilots hanging their ass out over Hanoi and Haiphong. His fascination with super jocks hot-rodding through the sky in made-to-order barn-burners is taken one step further in *The Right*



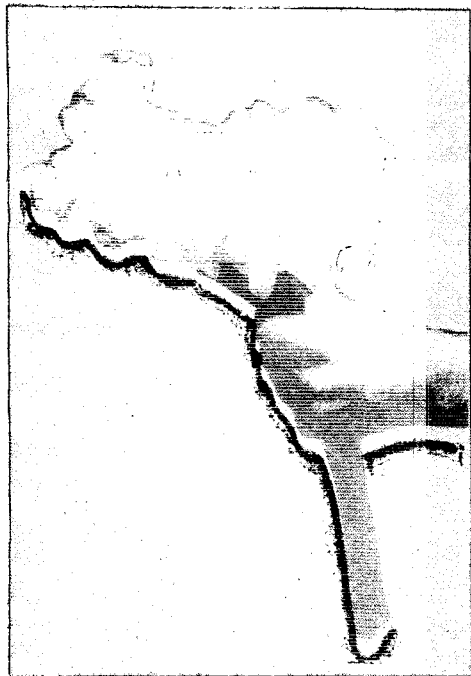
'60s hippies.

Harvard University occupation, 1969.

PEERS, & RADICALS

Stuff. And even if he is just trying to portray their life from the inside, he glorifies this stuff that most of us can never have. ■

Robert Schaeffer spent his boyhood learning about the right stuff.



THE WHITE ALBUM
By Joan Didion
Simon & Schuster, \$9.95.

By P.R. Wheeler

I find myself day-dreaming these days, with a certain fondness and even nostalgia, of the '60s. The time more and more represents to me an emergence into adulthood. I made choices then that determined my life now, and I learned how to respond to change, how in fact to initiate it, without losing track of my own needs and my sense of myself. Joan Didion in *The White Album* shows us what it's like for someone who finds this responsiveness impossible.

In the first and title essay, Didion gives us a psychiatric evaluation made of her in 1968. She uses this revelation not in order to clarify her point of view, but in order to set up the terms on which the entire book must be read: that her mental and physical problems serve as apt metaphors for the late '60s and early '70s. The maneuver is slippery and clever. She first shocks us with the psychiatric report, and then hits us with one after another of her horrible experiences, all couched in the terms commonly used when one is revealing the origins of some peculiar behavior.

It is tempting to be dazzled by the guts of this person who would be so open about such painful matters. But then she

asks us to agree with her that the symptoms of her "underlying psychotic process" were not "an inappropriate response to the summer of 1968."

I think we could all come up with a variety of appropriate responses to the summer of 1968, but Didion has manipulated us into a place where to agree with her is to agree implicitly that the '60s caused her psychosis. She nowhere allows that psychosis does not as a rule spring full-blown into the heads of grown women. She never allows that maybe her choice of companions and activities was more a result of her illness than of the times. No, instead we are asked to accept all this as a "parable...of the period itself."

In the first essay she places the Ferguson Brothers (murderers of Ramon Navarro) and Linda Kasabian next to Newton, Cleaver and the Panthers, and the strike at San Francisco State, suggesting that they were "flash pictures in variable sequence, images with no 'meaning' beyond their temporary arrangement." In other words (for Didion) the struggles of blacks and of students embodied the same moral content as did bizarre ritualistic murders. She dwells at some length on the Doors and tells us blankly that they "interested" her because they "insisted that love was sex and sex was death and therein lay salvation." In one short section of the first essay she gives us twice in two pages a list of the belongings she took with her on her reporting jaunts, and ingeniously exhibiting a habit common to the mentally disturbed—endowing small activities with overwhelming but unnamed significance—she pounds again and again at the fact that she *always forgot her watch*. In a disarming moment later in the book she speaks of the "palpable contract" between the "very rich and those who distrust them least [the poor]." Her piece on the women's movement is so hysterical (yes, and strident too) that I hope I may be forgiven for passing quickly by it.

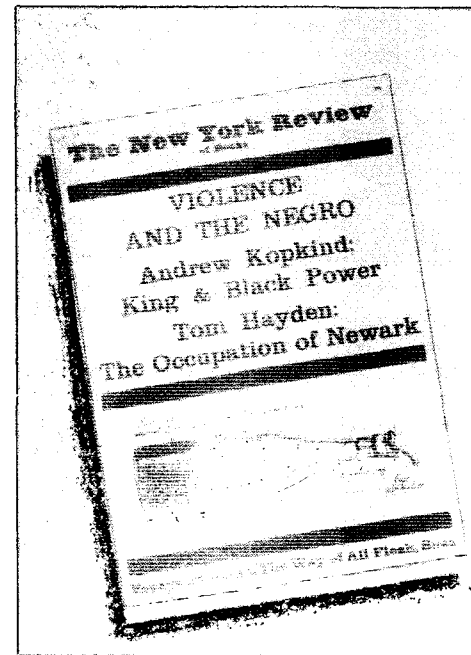
She complains throughout the book with a leaden self-absorption, that the "narrative on which many of us grew up no longer applies." Thank god. She goes on and on, and yet, believe it or not, she never once talks about the Vietnam War.

With the exception of a few eccentricities (two passionate essays on the ways in which massive bodies of water are controlled, and one on shopping-center theory) and a couple of times when she allows herself to admire people (one of whom is Georgia O'Keefe—an odd choice for Didion since O'Keefe is surely one of the memorable iconoclasts of this century), Didion ends up being simply dull.

Other writers have spoken glowingly of her prose (James Dickey says she's the "finest woman prose stylist writing in English today," presumably saving the other gender spot for himself. A reviewer calls this book "an important comment on the '60s" (Martha Duffy, *The New York Review of Books*, 16 August). A reporter speaks of her as a "prescient witness, finding in her own experiences parallels of the times." ("Joan Didion: Staking Out California," by Michiko Kakutani, *The New York Times Magazine*, 10 June).

When I read these comments I suddenly realized that Didion is performing two functions currently in vogue: she is dumping on the '60s (and exhibiting a certain style in the process, I must admit) and she's telling us we're all sick. That's the word lately, isn't it? That it isn't inflation or unemployment or the gas shortage that's making us anxious, it's that we're all sick, selfish and narcissistic.

Didion, I suspect, would make a small qualification on that statement: we're all sick, but she's sick and sensitive, while the rest of us are just plain revolting. ■ *P.R. Wheeler is the pen name of one of the original members of Bread and Roses in Boston.*



BREAKING RANKS
By Norman Podhoretz
Harper and Row, \$15.00.

By Norm Fruchtner

My children were born in the late '60s. How do they untangle the history of that traumatic decade, penetrate the competing rhetorics, situate the actors? What

books might help them unravel such complexity?

Norman Podhoretz' *Breaking Ranks* suggests itself as a candidate. He writes "as an opponent of the New Left and the counterculture and their various descendants in the liberal culture." Surely the children of '60s activists need a sense of their parents' opponents. *Breaking Ranks* traces Podhoretz's progression from early advocacy of some progressive ideas in *Commentary*, the journal he has edited since 1960, to such zealous opposition to radicalism that his epilogue defines the movements of the '60s as a spiritual plague based on self-hatred. Finally, though the bulk of Podhoretz's memoir abandons the tone of direct address, he has fashioned a book accessible to younger readers. My children could, someday soon, read this book. But should they? What would they learn?

First, although *Breaking Ranks* is primarily an ideological memoir, they would not learn much respect for ideas. Podhoretz consistently distorts whatever he disagrees with. Marxism is reduced to its predictive dimensions and dismissed because its predictions have backfired. The left's analysis of American imperialism is reduced to an attack on the uses of American power abroad, a moral rather than economic critique. "When the women's movement gets a mention in Podhoretz's account, it is either as an afterthought or as a plague of 'female self-hatred' still raging 'among the kind of women who do not wish to be women.'"

Podhoretz even trivializes ideas he champions. Classic liberalism is reduced to a defense of individualism, most noticeably in his attack on black demands for affirmative action and compensatory quotas. Podhoretz also discovers the necessity of defending his own self-interest as an intellectual and a Jew. Meanwhile he contemptuously dismisses the therapies of selfishness and "the new narcissism of the Me decade" as if his own experience suggested no parallels. Finally, *Breaking Ranks* is something of an oddity these days—a political memoir innocent of economics. Podhoretz's formal training was literary; he sees the sub-structure of social reality as moral, rather than economic, conflict.

My children would get a distorted view of intellectual work from this book. Though Podhoretz sees himself as an intellectual innovator, *Breaking Ranks* suggests a fundamentally reactive ideological career. The liberal anti-Stalinists who were Podhoretz's teachers, mentors and friends seem too rigid in their de-

Continued on page 14.

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New left

Continued from page 13.

fense of the Cold War, so Podhoretz edges toward the advocates of phased unilateral disarmament. Then the same liberals (Lionel Trilling, the *Partisan Review* editors, writers and associated academics) seem too smug about the triumph of American classlessness, so Podhoretz encourages an exploration of societal frustration and anomie by writers like Paul Goodman and Norman O. Brown. Originally a critical supporter of the student movement, Podhoretz retrenches as he perceives a growing anti-intellectualism and rhetorical violence. And so on throughout the book; Podhoretz responds, not to the problems each movement tries to address, but to what he perceives as their excesses.

Worse, this memoir is pruned of all experience but ideological debate. Little sense of living through the '60s intrudes. Nothing is as real as argument, primarily among a small group of New York left-liberal intellectuals and academics. This obsession with what Elias Canetti called "the world in the head" suggests why Podhoretz articulated some of the preceding decade's silliest proposals.

My favorite is Podhoretz's solution to black-white conflict in *My Negro Problem—And Ours*, a *Commentary* article published in 1963. In that article, Podhoretz argued that "wholesale miscegenation" was the only possible solution for blacks, because persistent intermarriage would finally integrate blacks by making them white. In *Breaking Ranks*, Podhoretz admits that, until Ralph Ellison pointed out that wholesale miscegenation would only "increase the number of 'colored' children," this objection to Podhoretz's final solution "had never occurred to me before." If this seems startling, consider the conclusion of *My Negro Problem—And Ours*:

I think I know why the Jews once wished to survive...they not only believed that God had given them no choice, but they were tied to a memory of past glory and a dream of imminent redemption. What does the American Negro have that might correspond to this? His past is a stigma, his color is a stigma, and his vision of the future is the hope of erasing the stigma by making color irrelevant, by making it disappear as a fact of consciousness.

Therefore, miscegenation. Sixteen years later, Podhoretz still cannot understand why Stokely Carmichael called him a racist.

Finally, Podhoretz's memoir is dominated only by a paradigm of betrayal, projected onto movements, opponents and friends alike. Though Podhoretz was too young to share his mentors' experience with Stalinism, he defines their disillusionment as the crucial ideological experience of the century. Yet, when his friends and mentors argue with his insistence on perceiving the '60s movements through Stalinist lenses, he cannot grant them honest disagreement. Instead he accuses them of betraying their intellectual principles, capitulating, through "cowardice" and a "failure of nerve" to a new "party line."

His insistence on seeing the '60s movements as the reincarnation of Stalinism involves Podhoretz in some bizarre projections. He conjures up a "movement party line," which intimidates the New York intellectual establishment from

publishing anything critical. He narrates how "the terror," a paralyzing fear of not death, exile or loss of livelihood but of being out of fashion successfully reduced such literary titans as Norman Mailer, Philip Rahv, William Phillips, Irving Howe and worst of all, Lionel Trilling, to craven favor-currying, fawning apologetics or silence.

Jason Epstein, one of the founding editors of *The New York Review of Books*, roams through Podhoretz's memoirs like the movement's intellectual Gauleiter, banishing dissidents from his journal, excoriating dissenters at cocktail parties and exiling movement critics to the deep space of intellectual fashion.

Perhaps my children might be amused by such parochialism and paranoia, but they won't learn much about the nature of intellectual work and ideological conflict during the 60s.

Norm Fruchter runs an adult education program for community activists in Jersey City.

Beats

Continued from page 12.

poetry at anti-war rallies, protesting political repression. But Kerouac remained muddled at best, reactionary at worst, ranting against "Jews, fairies and comics" even while satirizing McCarthyism and condemning militarism.

The beats were more direct but no less confused when grappling with the cultural taboos surrounding morality and sexuality. In the late '40s and early '50s, homosexuality was an evil as terrifying as communism, and many of the accounts of the youthful relationships between Ginsberg, Kerouac, Cassady and other men in their circle are rife with a torment that it would take years to resolve. Burrough's commitment to "shitting out my educated Middlewest background for once and for all" would drag him into "naked lunches" of hashish and young boys.

Whether following the macho tradition of Hemingway of the sexual ambiguities of Whitman, the beats maintained a decidedly masculine point of view. On the road or in the pad, women were largely peripheral to the fraternal search for meaning and identity.

The most poignant feature of Carolyn Cassady's brief memoir *Heart Beat* is the insight and sensitivity she cultivated even

while shunted to the outskirts of the spiritual brotherhood. Despite the talents of female beat poets—Dianne Di Prima, Marie Ponsot, Denise Levertov—the men clearly expected to articulate the consciousness of their generation.

In the mid-'50s the subterraneans crawled into the limelight, coming together in the San Francisco poetry renaissance. Cherkovski's literary history documents that movement and shows that the beat identity endures primarily in the poetic tradition it established.

Ferlinghetti institutionalized the movement in City Lights Bookstore and publishing house. A poetry reading at the Six Gallery in 1955, featuring Ginsberg's "Howl," brought national attention to the cafe subculture of the Black Cat, the Iron Pot and Vesuvio's, and to the circle of poets that included Gary Snyder, Michael McClure, Gregory Corso and Bob Kaufman.

At the same time Herb Caen coined the name "beatnik" and TV's "Dobie Gillis" series offered the lasting stereotypical image of the lovable, harmless Maynard G. Krebs.

In the end the beat generation passed from the scene in ways as varied as its characters and self-expressions. As befits a visionary movement so wide-ranging in its search for values within an ostensibly open society, the beats' legacy was atomized and fragmented. Ideas and attitudes that were common in beat literature and life have shown up in the Free Speech Movement, flower-child be-ins and anti-war demonstrations of the sixties, the ecology and gay rights movements of the '70s and finally in new wave or punk defiance of cultural conventions and conformity, heading into the '80s.

Derk Richardson is researching the film industry during the McCarthy Era.

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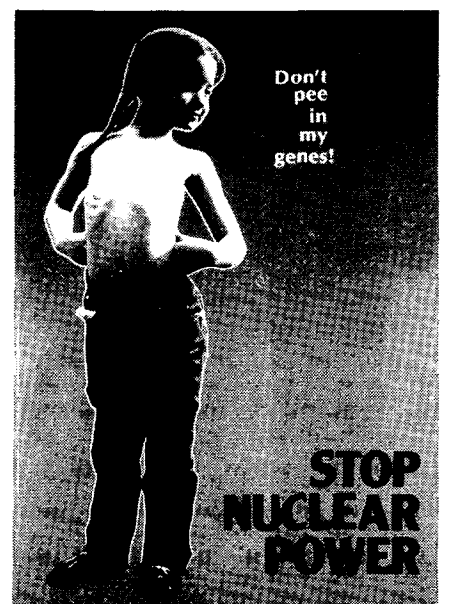
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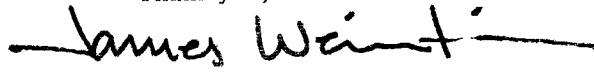
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7. How many books did you purchase last year?
 - ☐ 1-4 ☐ 5-10 ☐ 10 or more
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 - ☐ Bookstore ☐ Bookclub ☐ Coupons in Magazines or Newspapers
9. Do you own a stereo component system and/or tape deck? ☐ Yes ☐ No
10. How many records or tapes did you purchase last year?
 - ☐ 1-4 ☐ 5-10 ☐ 10 or more
11. Do you belong to a record club? ☐ Yes ☐ No
12. What are your favorite types of music? ☐ Folk ☐ Rock ☐ Jazz ☐ Classical ☐ Reggae ☐ Blues
13. Do you regularly serve or consume Natural Foods? ☐ Yes ☐ No
14. What Natural Foods are you most likely to consume? ☐ Vitamins/Food Supplements ☐ Herbal teas
 - ☐ Whole grain flours ☐ Garden produce ☐ Others
15. In 1979 did you or members of your family travel:
 - ☐ In the U.S.? Where and how often _____
 - ☐ Overseas? Where and how often _____
16. Do you enjoy camping and/or backpacking? ☐ Yes ☐ No
17. Are you a regular jogger? ☐ Yes ☐ No
18. In the last year have you: ☐ Purchased a painting, print or poster ☐ Published a book, article or poem
 - ☐ Made a mail order purchase ☐ Purchased a message T-shirt
19. Do you own: ☐ Your own car ☐ A camera
20. Do you carry a major credit card? ☐ Yes ☐ No
21. What is your household income? ☐ less than \$15,000 ☐ \$15,000-24,999 ☐ \$25,000-49,999 ☐ More than \$50,000
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23. What is/was your field of study? _____ Your spouse's? _____
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25. Please add any comments you deem appropriate. Thank you for your help.

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ROBERTA LYNCH

The Iranian crisis was created by the U.S. press

HISTORY CAN AT TIMES seem capricious beyond imagining. The current crisis in Iran is surely a case in point.

¶The events surrounding this conflict are unfolding with such haste and with such unpredictability that by the time you read these words the situation may be of a completely different order. Still, there are certain realities that are likely to remain constant. ¶First is the role played by the American press. Like so many of the "crises" that have occurred in recent decades, this one was created as much by the mass media as by any of the primary actors. For years the media dismissed anti-Shah protests (both here and in Iran) and diligently ignored widespread reports of torture, imprisonment and murder in that nation. Iran made it into American newspapers almost solely by way of the gossip columns and society pages wherein the Shah was portrayed as a congenial jet-setter and "Americanized" ruler.

Then, with the ouster of the Shah and the onset of the new government, the U.S. media suddenly discovered Iran. Where once hundreds of citizens could be gunned down in the streets of Tehran and barely merit a paragraph on page 20 or the *New York Times*, newspapers across the country now carried daily reports be-



moaning the fate of each and every condemned SAVAK agent. By and large they chose to overlook the initially vast outpouring of popular support for the new government and the deep hunger for retribution against those responsible for the long years of oppression, instead portraying every death sentence as a personal vendetta of the Ayatollah.

Now the press is further demonstrating its mettle. Day after day we are treated to editorial cartoons depicting Khomeini as a madman and a murderer. (I doubt that even the most conscientious newspaper reader could document cartoons of any comparable number or viciousness about the Shah—despite his far more bloody record.)

In addition to screaming headlines and inflammatory language, we are being offered such insightful analysis as "Khomeini is psychotic" or "they're a less ra-

tional people than we are."

With all this it is little wonder that almost no major political figure has dared to ask the obvious questions: why did we allow the Shah into this country when Iran had warned that there would be retaliation; why didn't we turn him over to the Iranian government when asked. There are certainly no obvious answers.

We have had no reticence about turning out Nazi war criminals that seek to scurry behind the American flag. Nor have we had any compunctions about demanding the return of our own outlaws: our government recently threatened to cut off aid to Chile when it refused to extradite those implicated in the Letelier/Moffitt murders. The "humanitarian considerations" excuse is as poor as any. Our own prisons hold many people afflicted with cancer or other fatal illnesses. How often does one hear politicians calling for their release on humanitarian grounds?

In significant measure, the long-standing journalistic love affair with the Shah—which continues to this day—has obscured these factors and enabled our nation to scoff both at the anger of the Iranian people and at the workings of international relations.

The second important element in this affair is of particular relevance for the left. It is all too easy for progressives in this country to become so burdened by the weight of our government's complicity in a regime such as the Shah's that we can feel compelled to uncritically welcome any alternative.

We have yet to grasp completely that those who use the language of liberation are not necessarily liberators.

There is no doubt that Khomeini has a great deal more popular support than the Shah had. And there is every indication that his aims are considerably more egalitarian and less self-serving than those of the former ruler.

But there have also been from the beginning signs that his regime was highly contradictory. The rapid, religiously-sanctioned suppression of women should have provided ample evidence that revolutionary rhetoric could conceal deeply conservative impulses. Moreover, as the months have progressed, the Ayatollah has failed to establish either a stable and equitable economic or an open and democratic political order.

It may well be that these internal contradictions have played a role in fomenting the current crisis. Khomeini's inability to catalyze the society and focus its energies was proving increasingly problematic and his move to take direct control of the government can be read as a sign of weakness rather than strength. In such a context it is useful to have a collective distraction—especially as potent a symbol as the Shah. Khomeini may well be playing a dangerous game—and one with a very short fuse—in seeking to make the focus of a nation not its internal growth, but its pride and its vengeance.

Moreover, he is playing on very questionable terms: oil may be a legitimate political weapon, hostages are not. Iran today risks not only the intensification of hostilities with the U.S., but its standing in the world community.

The third aspect of the crisis may be the most dangerous: it involves both the immediate and longer term effects on U.S. foreign policy. Already there is a tendency surfacing, even among liberals, to look back nostalgically on the good old days of the Shah when order reigned and oil flowed.

Even more disturbing were two nationally-syndicated columns published on the same day. In one Carl Rowan calmly noted that one of Carter's difficult "options" was invading the Iranian oil fields. And in the other Joseph Kraft made a stirring call for the active "destabilization" of Iran through the revitalization of our covert intelligence activities. Both these writers have long-standing ties to powerful political figures and it would be naive to assume they speak only their own minds.

It is not at all unlikely that the Iranian situation will be used in the short run to bolster the role of the CIA and to re-legitimate American intervention in the affairs of other nations.

Ideologically, it will serve to urge on those such as columnist Georgie Ann Geyer who portray the U.S. as an impotent giant tormented on all sides by the provocative swats of lesser nations who no longer fear its might. Calls for a stronger military presence and a more aggressive military posture will almost certainly follow.

They will be furthered by the jingoistic outbursts—sensationalized by the press—that have exploded across the country. City after city has been beset by ugly—even violent—anti-Iranian demonstrations that have the tacit sanction if not the official approval of more respectable forces.

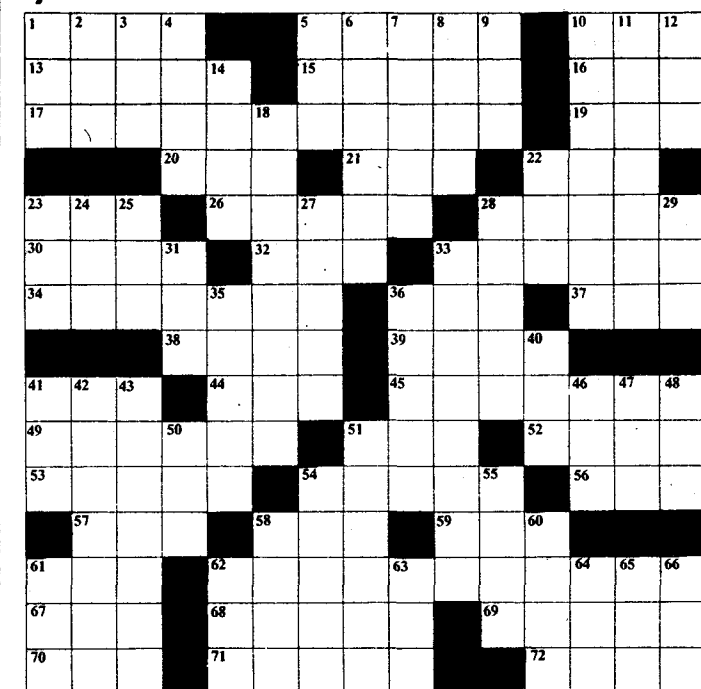
The conclusions being trumpeted are not only mistaken, but disastrous. They betoken an alarming lack of understanding of history. The Embassy action was not prompted by an assessment of American impotence, but rather by frustration with years of American arrogance. A frustration made all the more intense by the inability of a small and marginal nation to do much more than take what the U.S. dishes out.

The so-called "provocations" by such nations are in reality only desperate responses to the heritage of ill-will that U.S. domination has built up around the world. Preventing them will require a far more drastic turn toward non-intervention and respect for the integrity of other nations on our government's part. Conversely, a return to the gunboat diplomacy of previous American foreign policy would only lay the basis for further rounds of hostage diplomacy around the world.

Roberta Lynch is a member of the New American Movement.

CANDIDATES

By David Mermelstein



ACROSS

- 1 Psychoanalyst Erikson
- 5 One of the Jacksons
- 10 Animal foot
- 13 Circular sofa
- 15 Unaccompanied
- 16 Pastime stat.
- 17 Candidate with 13 supporters?
- 19 Advocate of an ism
- 20 Title: Abbr.
- 21 Sun talk
- 22 Nice soul
- 23 Smith and Pacino
- 26 Fallopian followers
- 28 Whooping candidate?
- 30 Summer beverage base
- 32 One who sits in on a course: Abbr.
- 33 Deep Throat was one
- 34 Apparitions
- 36 Japanese admiral
- 37 Deisre
- 38 Poker obligation
- 39 Welfare candidate
- 41 Hesitations
- 44 Jimmy's Nemesis?

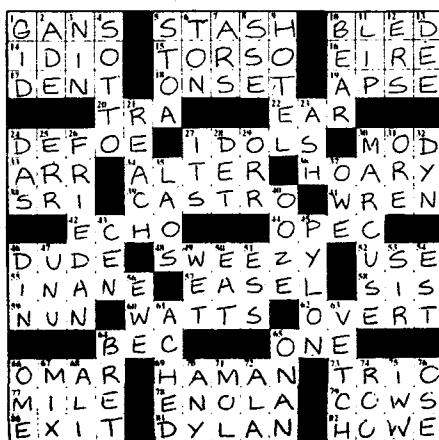
- 45 In preference
49. One of the worlds
- 51 Poet minus t
- 52 Hatteras or Sable
- 53 Prefix for case or well
- 54 Destroy Honda completely
- 56 Pins or fingers
- 57 Cleopatra's killer
- 58 Smell a
- 59 Equine command
- 61 Increases
- 62 Second rate candidate?
- 67 R. Carter, Smith
- 68 Onagers
- 69 Flour and water
- 70 Service branch: Abbr.
- 71 To be not here, add T
- 72 Legal paper

DOWN

- 1 Wane
- 2 Cuban Raul
- 3 Bother
- 4 Body hinge
- 5 Down

- 18 Sometime building occupier
- 22 Indonesian island group
- 23 Smith and Pacino
- 24 Stiff upper one, sometimes
- 25 Grenoble friend
- 27 Taken to school
- 28 Calms down
- 29 Literary contraction
- 31 Amendment initials
- 33 Historical period
- 35 Prefix for course and action
- 36 Dostoevsky novel (with The)
- 40 Cousin of et. al.
- 41 Printing measures
- 42 Does over a recording
- 43 "Once a candidate, always..."
- 46 Sup
- 47 Primate
- 48 Room for Daniel
- 50 With it
- 51 Uproar
- 54 Cup, in Nantes
- 55 Look first, then do this
- 58 Hurry
- 60 Archaic oath
- 61 Burmese leader
- 62 Brother to mitt and ball
- 63 Laski's univ.
- 64 Employ
- 65 Six months after Hiver
- 66 Carpet, maple or Danny

Answer to previous puzzle:



Guatemala

Continued from page 9.

raguan and Costa Rican trade to other Latin American countries, combined with the lingering effects of Honduras' 1969 partial withdrawal, have almost paralyzed the system. At the root of the crisis are the unequal benefits it provided: while the ruling classes of Guatemala and El Salvador reaped the gains, those of Honduras, Costa Rica and the non-Somocista sectors in Nicaragua suffered consistently worsening trade balances. Although the region's Chambers of Commerce and Industry have vociferously reaffirmed their faith in the process of economic integration and import substitution, privately businessmen admit that the market is doomed.

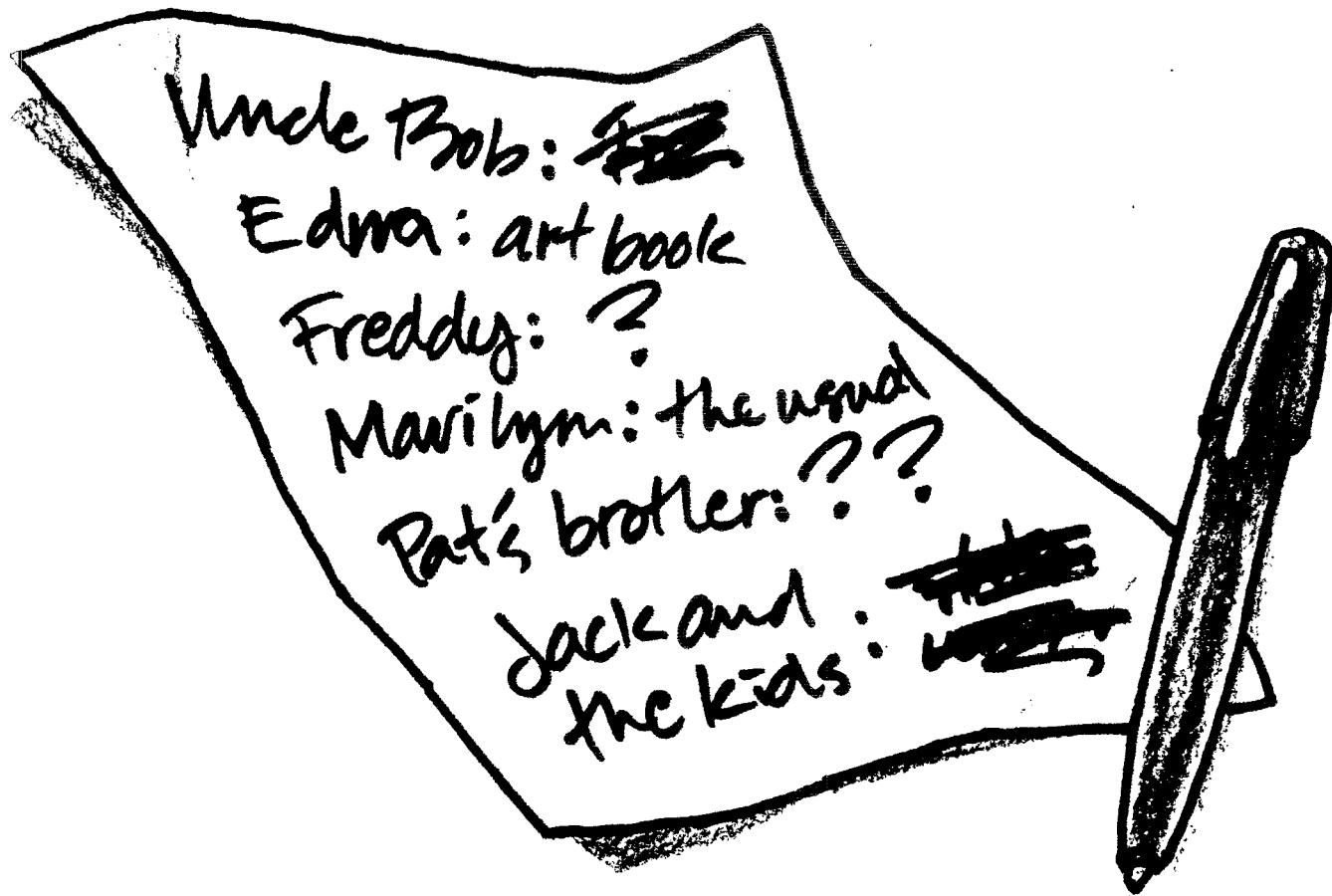
The destruction of the Common Market and its regional counterpart in the military sphere, CONDECA, by no means signal an end to U.S. meddling in Guatemala. The U.S. role there goes back to 1954, when the CIA and the United Fruit Company worked together to overthrow the agrarian-reform minded government of Jacobo Arbenz and install the first of the present series of dictators. Today,

the administration is split over policy in the area. The "hard-liners" in the Pentagon and CIA advocate a resumption of military aid and training to the military governments as part of an anti-Cuban "show of force" in the Caribbean. The State Department-led "soft-liners" push for at least the face-lift reforms necessary to avoid a repetition of their Nicaraguan debacle.

The "soft-liners" seem to have won in neighboring El Salvador, where many on the left believe the U.S. engineered the recent coup against General Romero. But in Guatemala Army officers with even slight democratic leanings have been shuttled off to foreign embassies or to obscure desk jobs, and the "centrist" Christian Democratic Party, which might be expected to provide an alternative to the military, has been discredited by its acceptance of the 1974 and 1978 electoral frauds. The social democratic parties see themselves as part of the broader DFAR and have stated their unwillingness to participate in a "democratic solution" that would exclude more radical sectors of the popular movement.

Amy Robbins lived in Guatemala for four years. She works with the Guatemala News and Information Bureau, Box 4126, Berkeley, CA 94704.

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PERSPECTIVES

Kirkland's succession is a tragedy for labor

By David Selden

THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A VIABLE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT anywhere, with the possible exception of Cuba, that was not based on a vigorous labor movement. That is why the ceremonial passing of the AFL-CIO presidential baton from the weakening hand of George Meany to the tenacious grip of Lane Kirkland is a tragedy. For the past several years the labor federation has been run by Kirkland and a small palace guard, with Meany participating less and less as his health failed. Kirkland's accession to the top spot means that policies that have resulted in enlistment of a smaller and smaller proportion of the work force will be continued.

For a few weeks this fall there was an incipient challenge by J.C. Turner, president of the Operating Engineers, but the threatened revolt was handled by Meany in his usual way. Turner went out to Meany's house, with Charles Pillard, president of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, coming along as witness. Meany said, in effect, "Lane's my man," and that was that. No need to bother the convention with such decisions.

Turner has a reputation as a liberal. He was president of the District of Columbia central labor body for a number of years before he moved up in the engineers, and he worked well with black and progressive leaders as well as old-line unionists. His election as AFL-CIO president might have shifted the course of the labor federation a few degrees to the left, although Turner is by no means a flaming revolutionary.

But much more than a good person in the AFL-CIO presidency is needed to invigorate the American labor movement. Just as the pre-depression elitist, craft unions were not able to organize the masses of workers in the production industries, so the aging, paternalistic, crystallized, business unions of the post WW II period have shown that they cannot attract the increasing proportion of the work force employed outside traditional union territory. The fact that many of these workers—blacks, hispanics, and women, particularly—have an uncertain status on the fringes of the work force adds to the organizing problem.

Not an organizing problem.

In fact, it is misleading to think of the trouble with the labor movement as primarily an organizing problem. There are strong reasons why so many workers have not joined unions, and organizing in itself cannot take those reasons away. Every established union leader and every mountebank labor faker talks about "organizing the unorganized." Of course they do; more members mean more money and power for the leader.

Thinking that the withering of the labor movement is just an organizing problem leads to the assumption that the malady can be cured by hiring more organizers, and by changing the labor laws to make them more favorable to unions. Organizers are surely necessary to help put the movement together, and labor law reform is sorely needed, too, but neither of these improvements will be enough to turn the membership decline around. Unions grow on hope; hope by workers that the union will do things they want done but cannot do for themselves. The problem is: how can the labor movement be made into a repository for the hopes of working men and women—and the unemployed too, for that matter.

One reason unorganized workers are

not attracted to the movement is that young people, blacks, hispanics, and women find it difficult if not impossible to identify with the present leaders of the labor movement, and there does not appear to be a ready means for them to participate in the movement.

The fact that George Meany in his eighties seemed to be a most effective leader is beside the point. By hanging on all those years he not only kept a younger person from handling the top job, but he also kept his whole administration in place. There never was a chance for any change in policy, nor was there much chance for new people to participate except on Meany's terms. The same paternalistic oligarchy exists in most of the international unions and larger locals. Some unions—the UAW and the Machinists, for instance—require their presidents to retire at age 65, and there was talk of adopting the same provision for the AFL-CIO at this convention. In addition, time in office should be restricted to some reasonable length, perhaps ten years—and both the age and time-in-office limits should be applied to all major officers.

Another change that might provide access to decision-making authority in unions for those now effectively excluded is to make it possible for opposition caucuses to function within the internationals and locals, and the AFL-CIO itself. Although such groups exist in many unions, they are mostly small and ineffectual. In the labor movement, dissent is akin to treason, and most of the internationals and larger locals are run like big-city political machines.

There are other mechanical devices in addition to limitations on time in office which could be used to open up unions to greater membership participation. Proportional representation in elections of delegates to conventions and executive board members, internal review boards to protect the civil rights of members and depoliticization of union staffs are three that come to mind. But more than mechanical changes are needed.

Beyond the workplace.

There are thousands of workers who cannot be organized at the workplace, for all practical purposes. They are too vulnerable to oppression or co-optation, or they do not consider that they have institutional rights to their jobs. Limiting the labor movement solely to organizations engaged in collective bargaining has the effect of excluding these potential members of the movement.

When the Progressive Alliance was formed a year ago, the UAW invited consumer, civil rights, and women's organizations to join. The total labor movement should be restructured to include such groups. Their help will be needed as economic and social policy decisions are increasingly made away from the bargaining table. Opening up the labor

movement to include left-liberal groups would give blacks, hispanics, and women a chance to get into the movement's highest levels of policy-making, from which present structural arrangements effectively exclude them. The AFL-CIO executive council, for instance, consists entirely of presidents of international unions (with one exception), which almost automatically excludes significant minority representation.

Some might say that the inclusion of non-bargaining organizations in the labor movement was tried a hundred years ago in the Knights of Labor, and it didn't work. But the Knights did work pretty well for awhile, and the AFL, which in textbooks is considered successful, justified that accolade only in the sense that it survived; it organized an even smaller proportion of the work force than its successor, the AFL-CIO.

Of course, before one can talk about expanding the labor movement one must deal with the disunity within the present union universe. There are almost as many members in unions not affiliated with the AFL-CIO as there are in affiliated unions. Some leaders, both among those inside and those outside the labor federation, like it that way. They are personally doing all right; why upset things? Most labor leaders, in theory, at least, deplore the internecine warfare and lack of central purpose that typifies labor's present condition. Perhaps the best way to approach this problem is to create an ad hoc committee on labor unity, with representatives of non-AFL-CIO unions

as well as orthodox organizations.

One disappointing aspect of Kirkland's accession to the AFL-CIO presidency is that there will be no change in the Meany cold war policy that has blighted the movement throughout the post-WW II period. Although a domestic liberal, the new labor chief is a saw-toothed cold warrior in his own right.

Declaring a truce in the labor cold war need not mean that American unions must embrace communism any more than unions in other countries have succumbed to the Soviet line. But red-baiting has been used by all sorts of regressive rascals to maintain their position in American unions, and in addition, our labor cold war has poisoned our relations with world labor organizations. It even led to complicity by American unionists in the CIA's "destabilization" of the Allende government in Chile.

Although there will now be a changing of the guard in many departments in the big house of labor on Sixteenth Street, the passing of George Meany and the accession of Lane Kirkland must be counted as an opportunity lost. The drastic changes needed to invigorate the American labor movement will have to wait awhile longer, but then, those changes could not be accomplished by merely having a progressive person in labor's top position, anyway. Those reforms can only be brought about by movements within the unions.

David Selden was president of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, from 1968 to 1974.

JOSHUA DRESSLER

Two civil liberties cases in Supreme Court

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT has granted hearing this year on various cases involving civil liberties. Two of those cases are not likely to receive much media coverage because they lack "sex appeal." Yet, the decisions in these cases will deeply and profoundly affect the rights of prisoners to be free from cruel and excessive confinement.

In one case, *Bailey v. United States*, Bailey escaped from a federal prison but was later arrested. At his trial for escape he explained that he fled because of the cruel conditions of the prison, including assaults by prison guards, and the refusal of prison officials to give him necessary medical care for his epileptic condition. He raised these claims in defense of his escape, arguing in essence that it was necessary for him to flee, or that he was essentially coerced by the conditions to escape.

Bailey's claim is not novel. For the past decade a flurry of state prisoners have made similar claims. At the start courts denied such defenses in perfunctory fashion. More recently state courts have begun to honor such arguments.

The *Bailey* case represents the first time the high court has confronted the question of whether cruel confinement justifies or excuses escape. The Court has the opportunity to give dignity to prisoners' claims that conditions in institutions must improve; or, it can serve a mortal blow to such reform in federal prisons. (State prisoners will not be directly affected by the Court decision.) A victory for Bailey would serve as a *de facto* order to prison officials to improve conditions in their institutions or face judicially countenanced escapes by their inmates. A result in prisoners' favor here would indicate the Supreme Court's belief that confinement can only be justified when the basic rights of prisoners are honored. A favorable judgment in this case is not likely.

The second case may be more success-



ful. *Rummel v. Estelle* involves not cruel, but excessive, confinement. Rummel is a man thrice convicted of crimes in Texas. In 1969 he defrauded a merchant of \$80. Five years later he passed a forged instrument with a face value of \$28.36. Four years after that he obtained \$120.75 under false pretenses. In short, in about one decade of "crime," Rummel was convicted of three property crimes in which he amassed booty of little more than \$220.

Under Texas law, however, a third felony conviction means classification as a habitual offender, and a mandatory sentence to imprisonment for life. This penalty is before the Court for consideration.

Habitual offender laws exist in virtually every state in the nation. Under them repeat offenders are imprisoned for substantially greater periods of time than would otherwise be permitted for the crime committed. Some state recidivist laws permit such extra incarceration only if the crimes committed involve violence. In other cases there must be four or more prior convictions. The Texas law is by far the most extreme in its mandate of life imprisonment after any three felonies.

The case, however decided, will have great significance. A victory for Texas will leave prisoners virtually without recourse from excessive penalties. A defeat for the Texas law would serve as some indication that the Constitution is going to be interpreted so as to place reasonable limits on the sentencing authority of state legislatures and judges.

IN DEPTH

Civil rights movement leaders look at their past

By Angie Fa

Through all our work was a central theme. It was not only the racial and economic integration of American Society, but a real transformation of that society. That goal was not achieved in the '60s, and it has not been achieved in the '70s.

—Julian Bond

ON THE EVE OF THE MISSISSIPPI state election that brought an unprecedented number of blacks into public office last

month, the civil rights movement returned to the state to reassess the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project. Fifteen years ago many of those at the reunion were members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Julian Bond, Lawrence Guyot, Joyce Ladner and Willie Peacock were among the students who led the battle to integrate the South. Others present had served as advisors to the 1964 Project that brought hundreds of Northern student volunteers to Mississippi to establish Freedom schools and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which attempted to register black voters and challenged the seating of the all white Mississippi delegation at the 1964 Democratic convention. Advisors present included attorney Arthur Kinoy, Reverend Edwin King, former Tougaloo College chaplain and 1963 Lieutenant Governor candidate on the MFDP ticket, long time civil rights activist Ella Baker, former Americans for Democratic Action Chairman and United Auto Workers attorney Joseph Rauh, and former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations for special political affairs Allard Lowenstein. Comedian Dick Gregory and folk musicians Mary Travers and Pete Seeger were among the entertainers who returned.

Gains of the Movement

During a four day symposium of meetings at Tougaloo and Millsaps Colleges in Jackson, Miss., the civil rights veterans told some 300 students who had been three to six years old at the time of the 1964 Summer Project that the movement had made real gains, including the desegregation of buses, hotels, restaurants and public schools, gains now taken for granted. Others reminded the crowd that it was the pressure begun by poor Southern blacks that caused the federal government to establish anti-poverty programs, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, and Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, which help all poor in America, black and white, North and South. In Mississippi the same buildings that housed Freedom Schools during the long, hot summer of 1974 now house Head Start pre-school programs. New community institutions like the Delta Ministry have grown up in Mississippi through the Summer Project's recruitment of religious, medical and legal support into the state.

The summer experience also changed the nature of those professions. Arthur Kinoy, currently a professor of law at Rutgers University, recalled a time when only three Mississippi lawyers, all of them black, would take civil rights cases. He says that lawyers learned "that there was no legal magic in the enforcement of the Constitution." Kinoy believes "the central key lesson was that the main road to the enforcement of the written constitution of freedom and equality lay in the direct and massive intervention of black people in their struggle."

Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for



The Reverend Edwin King.

Human Rights Patricia Derian said that "what grew here cannot die" because of the inspiration it has given to civil rights struggles in Africa, Asia, the Soviet Union and Latin America. Others noted the civil rights movement's role as a catalyst for the student, anti-war and women's movements. King, a white Mississippian, recalled how Mario Savio started the Berkeley Free Speech Movement after spending a summer in Mississippi.

Rauh, who served as chief legal advisor to the MFDP convention challenge, believes that the MFDP has had a lasting impact on the Democratic Party and the selection process for convention delegates. The MFDP effort to unseat the segregationists in 1964, and the special equal rights committee that was then established, "remade the Democratic Party," he believes. The special committee's final resolution established "the whole theory of affirmative action." Because of this resolution, half of the delegates at the Democratic national convention in 1980 will be women.

The impact of the civil rights movement on Mississippi politics became clear on Nov. 6, three days after the last session, when some 40 black candidates for the state legislature ran in newly reapportioned districts. Seventeen blacks were elected, bringing the number of black state senators from one to two and of black state representatives from five to 15. By a 76 percent majority Mississippi voters also approved a referendum to establish a review commission on judicial performance. A second resolution that also passed will establish reapportionment on a permanent basis every 10 years.

Economic Injustice Remains.

Despite these gains, Julian Bond pointed out the comparatively low political efficacy of blacks: "In 1976 only 58.5 percent of eligible voters registered and only 48.7 percent actually voted. By contrast 68.3 percent of whites registered and 60.9 percent voted," Bond said. Economic equality needed to become an issue if politics is to remain relevant to blacks, he added. "Southern blacks need a larger pool of more sophisticated voters, less likely to vote for a man or woman who knows the words to their hymns than the numbers on their paychecks. The successful campaign in the 1980s must tie political participation with economic improvement or black Americans will enter a long night of political impotence."

Another ex-SNCC activist, Joyce Ladner, also emphasized the economic injustice that still affects poor blacks. Ladner, author of the book *Death of White Sociology* and professor at Hunter College in New York decried the tendency of "people in the North to say they 'marched with Dr. (Martin Luther) King; with little regard for the fact that

the towns they marched through are as poor today as they were then." "Many careers have been built on participation in the movement," she added, but those at the bottom then are still at the bottom." Ladner reminded the audience that two years ago Fanny Lou Hamer died a slow and painful death of cancer. And despite all her civil rights work, she died as she had lived, in poverty. Her husband and two young grandchildren she was rearing still live in poverty in Ruleville, Miss. "Yet she lived long enough to see many profiting from her valuable efforts," Ladner said.

Why it failed.

There is heated disagreement among the activists as to what caused the failures of SNCC. Ladner blames the failure of SNCC on the naivete of its activists, "I and many of my fellow movement workers not yet tempered by age and experience thought institutions would simply cave in if enough pressures were brought to bear against them," she said. "In effect we were running the 100 yard dash instead of the marathon."

Bond attributes the demise of SNCC to inexperienced political judgement, "We took a broader view of the U.S. than any other group at the time, but we're gone and they're still here. So it might be that we took too broad a view, that we involved ourselves in international politics at a time when other civil rights organizations didn't. On the Middle East struggle and the war in Vietnam, we took positions that were unpopular with some of the people who were our funding sources—our support. I think we outstripped our political support. It abandoned us and went on to other concerns."

Black power advocates sharply criticize the Freedom Summer Program and the importation of hundreds of Northern whites to the South. Former SNCC organizer Willie Peacock, currently a hospital employee in Jackson, said that the insensitivity of the influx of Northern volunteers "destroyed small organizations" that he and others had attempted to build with local leadership.

Still others attribute the failure of SNCC to government interference. Edwin King, who still bears a facial scar from a hit and run accident that kept him from attending a crucial meeting of the Jackson integration movement, said "People did everything they could to discredit...the leadership of SNCC. They were willing to let a SNCC exist but they wanted NAACP as the black peoples' organization, funded and controlled when necessary by outside whites." King recalls a congressman unwilling to meet an MFDP lobbyist who appeared on a House un-American activities list, the example of people who "travelled the U.S. to college campuses, telling students 'don't go to Mississippi because it is controlled by Maoists.'" He says, "You ask where did SNCC go?...It was poisoned by COINTELPRO and our lack of history, and sophistication in politics, and faith. We were too weak, we let ourselves be too weak."

Former MFDP Chairman and SNCC leader Guyot disagreed with both those who believed that SNCC failed because of its naive approach and those who believe it failed because of government disruption, "we knew that we were being spied upon, so our position was that we had no secrets: The phone is tapped and the person that comes to visit me in jail, is my best friend, is an FBI agent, but if you operate on the position there is no need for secrets, there's no problem." Guyot recalls a time in jail when SNCC activists "knew that the cell was tapped because sometimes they put all 40 of us in one room, so whatever we wanted said to them, that's what we said to them." According to him the problem with accepting either explanation for SNCC's demise is that you believe "change is not possible."

Political solutions.

Guyot says that his goal before, during and after SNCC remains the same, "I want, and what I have always wanted, what I will want until I die is the empowerment of black people." But among civil rights veterans there is also division

on how the empowerment of black people and economic equality is best achieved. One large group of former SNCC activists have abandoned their old task of community organizing at the grassroots level in Mississippi, although they retain their old emphasis on electoral politics, seeking to influence the Democratic Party and local municipal politics. Many have taken the long march through the professional world as lawyers, teachers, writers, social workers, professors and clergy.

Guyot, currently working with the youth program PRIDE in Washington, D.C. says "I will use any means or any form to consolidate power." But for him the electoral process "has the most power and people are more familiar with participating in it." He believes, "there's tremendous value in learning how to organize and the electoral system is the easiest way, there is immediate correlation between information and power."

Guyot, Bond and Allard Lowenstein are among the civil rights activists who may support the Kennedy presidential bid. Guyot stated, "He's going to win, he's right on the issues." Guyot adds, "I think that the Kennedy campaign offers us an opportunity to learn how to organize." Bond advises young people, "particularly young black people," who "have no relationship to the political process, have the worst rate of voter registration and participation of any age group," to "involve themselves in the politics of the communities in which they find themselves and prepare themselves to be active in the presidential election of next year."

According to Guyot the 1980 presidential campaign is crucial. "My concern is that this is about the last chance that poor people will have a chance to determine who the President is going to be, that while Jimmy Carter was unsuccessful in demolishing the electoral college process, the electoral college process is really the basis of black political power." He says that if you look at where blacks are concentrated, "It's almost as if someone took us and placed us right where the swing political jurisdiction determines the electoral college allocation, state by state, in presidential elections." Guyot criticizes Carter, "we [blacks] put him in, in 21 states, and he's the man who leads that fight" against the electoral college.

Folk singer Pete Seeger is one civil rights activist opposed to both Kennedy and Carter, "The problem with Kennedy and Carter and a lot of well meaning politicians is that they're not willing to make plain to Americans the big changes we must make to survive." Seeger believes "changing the economic system is not going to be easy but if we don't we'll be digging a deeper hole for ourselves." He says, "I'm a follower of Barry Commoner" and believes Commoner's effort to create an independent party is definitely "worth a try."

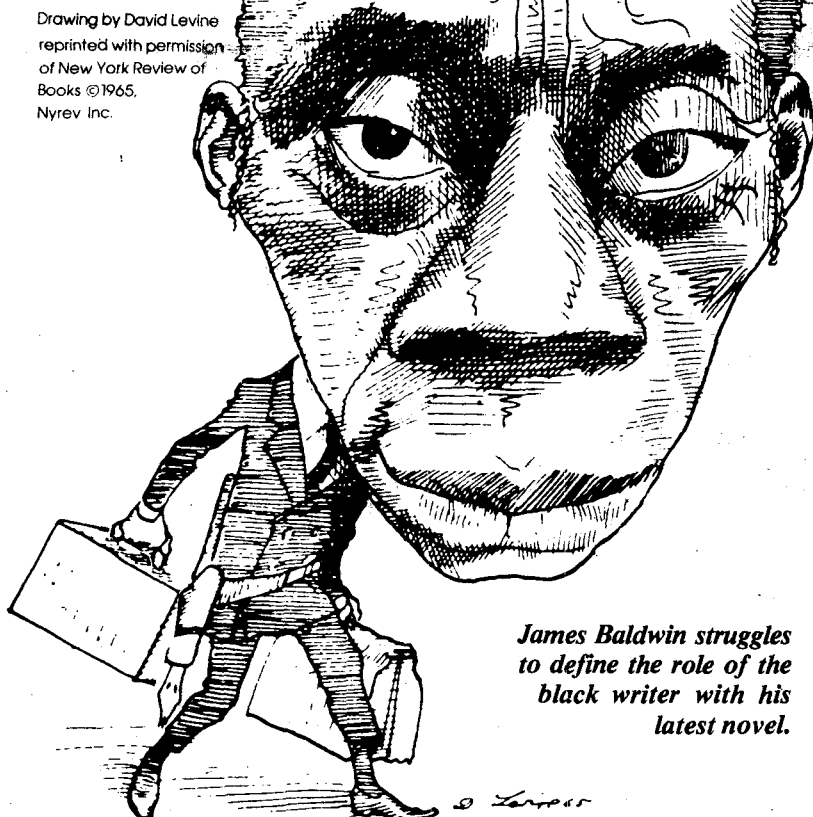
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ART & ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

The writer as witness



Drawing by David Levine
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James Baldwin struggles
to define the role of the
black writer with his
latest novel.

JUST ABOVE MY HEAD
By James Baldwin.
Dial Press, \$12.95.

By Alan Wald

James Baldwin's literary evolution testifies to the ironies of the fate of the Afro-American writer. Throughout the publication of his first five novels, three collections of essays, and numerous stories, interviews and plays, Baldwin has been accused of assuming different postures vis-à-vis the contending claims of social responsibility and artistic freedom.

In 1963 socialist literary critic Irving Howe and black novelist Ralph Ellison had a classic exchange on the tensions of being

a writer from an oppressed minority group. In "Black Boys and Native Sons" (reprinted in 1970 in *Decline of the New*), Howe observes that social oppression is a part of the black experience in America, and no black artist can successfully evade it. In "The World and the Jug" (reprinted in 1966 in *Shadow and Act*), Ellison argued that the black writer must be left free to create with the same options as any other writer.

Baldwin began his career as a partisan of the Ellison position, arguing that for the black writer to use literature to protest white oppression was to accept the white man's game. But after a nine-year European exile, during which he came to terms with his

bisexuality and produced his autobiographical novel *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), Baldwin returned to the U.S. to be reborn as a civil rights activist.

He published a best-selling political testament, *The Fire Next Time* (1963), and then issued a series of books that associated him in the public eye—some-what erroneously—with the burgeoning black power movement. Alongside his persistent religious and sexual themes, political issues symptomatic of the '60s and '70s became central features of Baldwin's fiction. In his 1968 novel *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone*, he even hinted that the time had come to "pick up the gun."

Full circle.

Now we are about to enter a new decade and Baldwin has issued a sixth novel—one that he claims has brought him "full circle." He used this expression in the *New York Times Book Review*, and he further explained that "From *Go Tell It on the Mountain* to *Just Above My Head* sums up something of my experience...that sets me free to go someplace else." When asked how he saw "the role of the black American writer," Baldwin said that one should substitute "the word witness for writer" and that the objective should be "to translate what you see."

By traveling "full circle" Bal-

win may mean that he is reconciled to his inability to make sense out of his encounter with the political movements of the '60s and that he has returned to an earlier stage.

As a work of art, *Just Above My Head* is a throwback. It is devoid of the sensibility of social process, vitality, struggle and growth that characterized the recent period. The texture of Baldwin's prose is thin, mournful, and fragmented. It is painfully reminiscent of the lonely '50s, when the intense passion of personal love was thought to provide the only respite from angst and alienation.

The book could even be called "existentialist," if one is careful to differentiate between the mood and the philosophy of existentialism. *Just Above My Head* wants the cogency that might have been provided by existentialist philosophy or any other significant perspective on the world.

Nevertheless, *Just Above My Head* is a readable book with moments of drama and passion. Baldwin's well-known virtues are operative. There is a verisimilitude in his vignettes of middle-class black life, depicting the world of advertising executives, models, and successful musicians. He admirably captures those tense moments of black-white interaction when the violence inherent in U.S. social relations seems ready to explode. He demonstrates the ten-

derness and poignant awkwardness of homosexual love in heterosexual society.

Baldwin's central character is an artist, appropriately named Arthur, who is a homosexual gospel singer from Harlem found dead at the age of 39. The novel begins and ends with episodes from Arthur's death agony, in which he collapses—apparently from a cerebral hemorrhage—in the basement men's room of a London pub. When Arthur dies, he falls down the pub's staircase and the last image in his mind is of the steps "staring down at him from the ceiling, just above his head."

Roots and love.

The transformation of this phrase, "just above his head," into the book's title, *Just Above My Head*, is central to Baldwin's artistic design and moral statement. The novel is narrated almost entirely by Hall Montana, Arthur's older brother and manager, except for a few pages given over to Jimmy Miller, Arthur's pianist and lover for the last 14 years. The change of "his head" to "my head" signifies the degree to which Hall, Jimmy, Arthur, and other members of the Montana and Miller families are part of one another—bound together by their common roots and passionate love.

Such a simple perception—no matter how admirable—cannot sustain a 600-page novel. The dominant values quickly become the banal moralizing and pseudo-philosophizing of Hall Montana, whose hollow, nostalgic voice is reproduced in the speech of most of the other characters.

Staring in a looking-glass, Hall solemnly concludes that "all you ever really see in your mirror is your state of mind." Exchanging a warm glance with his father, Hall portentously remarks that "our past, our present, and our future happened in that twinkling of an eye..." Ruminating on sex, Hall experiences italicized epiphanies such as "*Women like it as much as men*" and "*a stiff prick has no conscience*."

The problem with the "witness" approach to the novel is that it fails to account for the many complex differences between life and art. The witness who translates human experience into literature is obliged to make changes, selections and condensations. Unfortunately, at the age of 55 Baldwin seems to have regressed to—or to have never outgrown—a simplistic philosophy of personal love that he is unable to vivify with a social or psychological vision.

Baldwin may feel that he is now "set free" to move onto other matters, but the political-artistic dilemma of the Afro-American writer is neither resolved nor much enlightened by *Just Above My head*.

Alan Wald, the author of *James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years*, teaches American literature at the University of Michigan.

How to get out of the culture of terror

RAPE: THE POWER OF CONSCIOUSNESS

By Susan Griffin
Harper and Row, \$3.95.

By Valerie Miner

All women know the routine. Be sure to leave the office or the factory or the library before dark; keep to the best lit streets; check the back seat of the car before getting in. After unlocking the front door, look in the closets and under the bed and through all the rooms. Then latch the door securely.

We have learned to see out of the corners of our eyes, have practiced karate chops and judo flops, have stockpiled cans of mace. Yet even those of us who successfully avoid personal assault are confined by the culture of rape.

Most of us have forgotten how to move without fear. Susan Griffin tells us that the best defense against rape is the power of consciousness. First we must understand that rape is misogynist terrorism. Then we must reclaim our right to live safely and wholly in the world.

Griffin's book consists of three essays: "Politics," the groundbreaking indictment of rapist society that appeared in *Ramparts* in 1971; "A History," an overview of violence against women and the feminist response; "Consciousness," a

Rape is more than physical attack. It's a form of mass terrorism against women.

more philosophical consideration of patriarchy, feminism and a vision of a society without rape. The essays are supplemented by an extensive listing of rape crisis centers in the North American as well as a collage of comments about rape from feminists around the world.

"Rape is a form of mass terrorism," writes Griffin in the first piece, "for the victims of rape are chosen indiscriminately, but the propagandists for male supremacy broadcast that it is women who cause rape by being unchaste or in the wrong place at the wrong time—in essence, by behaving as though they were free." Here she discusses the pervasiveness of rape, the sexist treatment of victims by the police and the courts; the fear and guilt that keep women from reporting rape and the effectiveness of rape as a form of social control. When this essay first appeared, it provoked both grass roots campaigns as well as further written analysis, such as Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will*.

During the last eight years the violence against women has be-

come more visible. We are experiencing a backlash against feminism with the trashing of abortion clinics and women's presses. We are also beginning to hear stories of women defending themselves: Joann Little, Yvonne Wanrow, Dessie Woods and Inez Garcia. In 1976, an International Tribunal of Crimes Against Women was held in Brussels. In North America alone we have hundreds of rape crisis centers.

In "A History" Griffin pauses to criticize the left's longstanding insensitivity to issues of violence against women. However her remarks about socialism and Marx are too brief and offhand. She would do well to consider the serious work of many feminist socialists who are moving the left to a different consciousness.

The final essay asks how our society is shaped by patriarchy and served by rape. Rape is more than a physical attack. It is a denial of our autonomy, a blind pulled down on our vision of the world.

"We are frightened all of our lives by the incipience of this violence: The rapist may be a

stranger, or a man we thought we knew. The act of rape for women is of its very nature never predictable, never chosen, never a fight one has waged on, always a surprise attack, and for no reason. In the moment of rape a woman becomes anonymous...Absorbed by his violence, her soul and the history of her soul are lost."

Some feminist socialists will consider themselves too earth-bound for Griffin's talk of soul and spirit. But her discussion of Greek mythology, for instance, provides historical metaphors about the treatment of women. No doubt some will close this book at the first mention of Iphigenia, Clytemnestra or Persephone. One of the great tragedies of feminism is that the internal splits—such as that between "political" feminists and "spiritual" feminists—often occupy us more than our fight against sexism. But we will not be free of rape until we go deep into our history and psychology, root out the misogyny and begin to conceive of a new humanity.

Some will say Griffin is outrageous and hysterical. But she's used to that. They said the same thing about her *Ramparts* essay, now considered one of the pioneering analyses of rape. She isn't disowning that essay, but extending it.

Valerie Miner is co-author of *Tales I Tell My Mother and Her Own Woman*.

VISUAL ARTS

By Joel Schechter

Joseph Beuys, the German sculptor, once spent a week conversing with a coyote at New York's Rene Block Gallery. Each day the floor of their cage was covered with fresh copies of the *Wall Street Journal*. No one knows exactly what Beuys and the animal discussed, but it is probable that the sculptor talked about politics, art and his plans to create "direct democracy" through "social sculpture."

In recent years Beuys has increasingly linked his avant-garde artistic activity to leftist political theory. As he says in the catalogue of his current retrospective (until Jan. 2) at New York's Guggenheim Museum: "My objects are to be seen as stimulants for the transformation of the idea of sculpture... They should provoke thoughts about what sculpture can be and how the concept of sculpting can be extended to the invisible materials used by everyone: Thinking Forms—how we mould our thoughts... Social Sculpture—how we mould and shape the world in which we live; sculpture as an evolutionary process; everyone an artist."

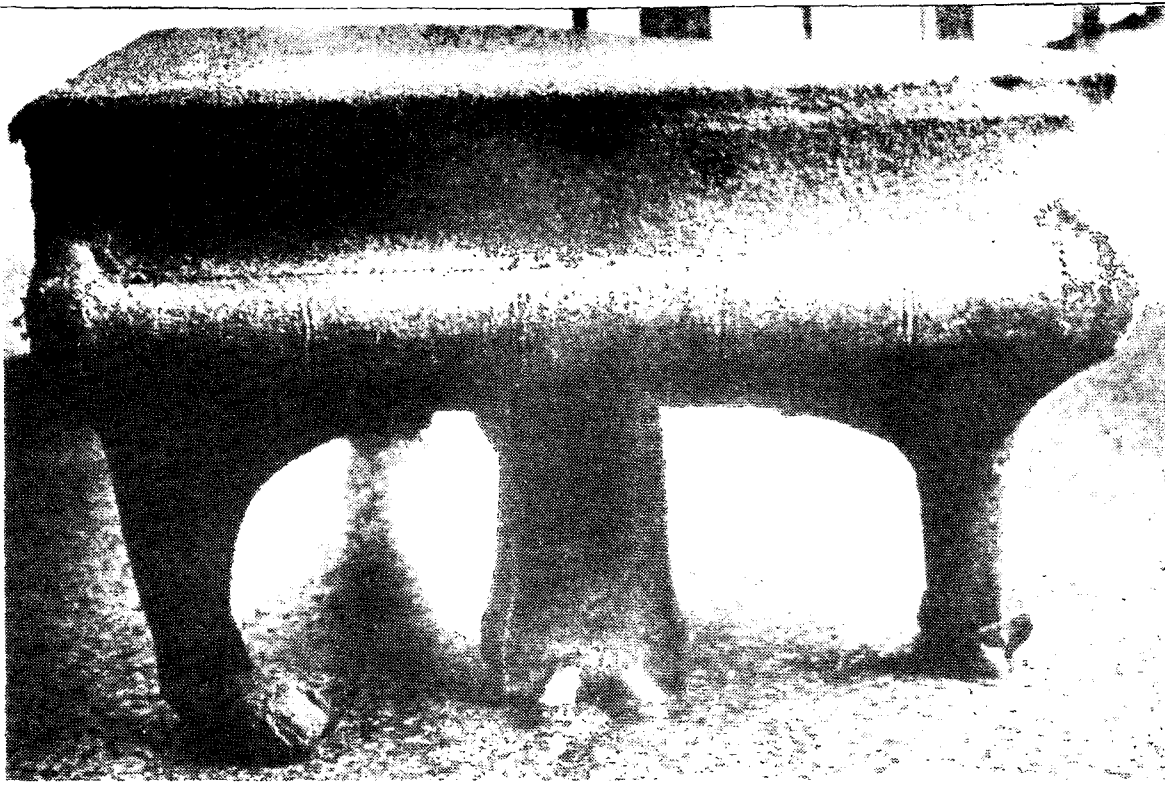
"Everyone an artist" is not far from the assertion by a child at the Guggenheim, on seeing Beuys' work, that "I could do that." Indeed, many people could enclose a Bechstein piano in felt. But few of them could articulate the concept behind the action as well as Beuys, or offer as theatrical a performance. The piano was encased in felt in 1966. An audience in Dusseldorf watched Beuys wrap cloth around the Bechstein while a mechanical duck ran squawking around the sculptor.

"The piano is condemned to silence," said Beuys. Its grey, felt-covered legs now resemble an elephant's feet; its ivory keys and sound remain trapped inside a felt skin. Beuys placed two red crosses on the cloth to signify "emergency: the danger that threatens if we stay silent."

Beuys is anything but silent. A prolific explainer of his own artistic and political theories, he once publicly criticized the silence of Marcel Duchamp, whose Dadaist inventions anticipated Beuys' own sculpture. As a sculptor, Duchamp displayed "found objects"—the urinal he labeled "Fountain," for example—in galleries.

Instead of displaying objects, Beuys prefers to use them in street and studio performances. The snowshovel Duchamp titled "In Advance of the Broken Arm" parodied conventional aesthetics, mocking principles of originality and functionalism in art. Beuys, by contrast, has sold silver-handled copies of the broom with which he swept East Berlin's Karl Marx Plaza on May Day, 1972. When museum collectors acquire the expensive brooms, they are supporting Beuys financially, but they also are acknowledging and advertising his gesture to free East German marxism from the rubbish surrounding it.

Regrettably, the Guggenheim retrospective neglects Beuys' roles as performer and social commentator. Aside from two excellent videotapes, few objects on display convey a sense of the social and theatrical contexts for which Beuys created his piano and brooms. Removed from the performances in which they first appeared, many of the metal



Beuys, in a felt cloak, spent a week talking to a coyote in 1974 (below). In 1966 he encased a piano in felt (above).

"Everyone an artist"



and felt constructions resemble relics from an ancient, forgotten civilization. The material with which Beuys works—felt, moulded tallow, rusted iron—constitute a private but interpretable language. Like other

conceptual art works, his represent ideas far more effectively than they offer sensual pleasure.

Beuys does not design and wear coarse felt suits for pleasure. He wore his first one in an anti-Vietnam war action in 1971,

A German official refused to speak to sculptor Beuys. "I will not turn myself into a possible art object," he said.

wrapping himself like his felt Bechstein to apply "the silence of the piano to the human body." The costume "evokes convicts, poverty, the proletariat," according to Guggenheim exhibit curator Caroline Tisdall. She might have added that the pile of 62 felt suits, placed as sculpture on the Guggenheim floor, parodies mass production of unneeded consumer good and *objets d'art*.

During his years as a professor at the Academy of Art in Dusseldorf, Beuys' teaching provoked as much controversy as his sculptures. His acceptance of students whom other professors had rejected brought Beuys

dismissal, lawsuits, reinstatement and a triumphant, dramatic crossing of the Rhine River as students ferried him back to the Academy. Beuys now regards teaching, or at least thinking and speech, as the materials of "social sculpture" whereby society can be moulded anew. Many of his recent artworks have been blackboard diagrams depicting a new social order. Some museums (not the Guggenheim) have displayed blackboards with Beuys seated in front of them to answer questions.

Not one to be confined to museums, Beuys has also established (with novelist Heinrich Boll and others) a "Free International University" to initiate dialogues on the future shape of democracy, and to evolve a "new style of political work and political work and political organization." His concept of democracy is amorphous. Perhaps it is no more than a catalyst for public discussion, and a new theme for his performance art.

Beuys tends to treat everything, including government, as a form of art. In 1972, West-

phalian Minister of Education Johannes Rau refused to negotiate with Beuys. Rau said, "I cannot and will not let myself be made into a possible art object." Art is rarely this threatening.

The closest the Guggenheim retrospective comes to Beuys' art of lecturing is its sale of autographed blackboard erasers (\$50 each), noiseless felt objects that simultaneously commemorate the artist's blackboard planning for democracy and invite Beuys' opponents to erase his utopian visions.

Joel Schechter teaches at the Yale School of Drama, where he also is the editor of *Theater* magazine.

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SPORTS

Chicano hitter ties for Most Valuable Player

By Sue Martinez

On Nov. 13, baseball players Willie Stargell and Keith Hernandez tied for National League Most Valuable Player honors. Stargell is a veteran whose Pittsburgh Pirates emerged as World Series champions this year.

By contrast, 26-year-old Keith

Hernandez has been largely overlooked by the media.

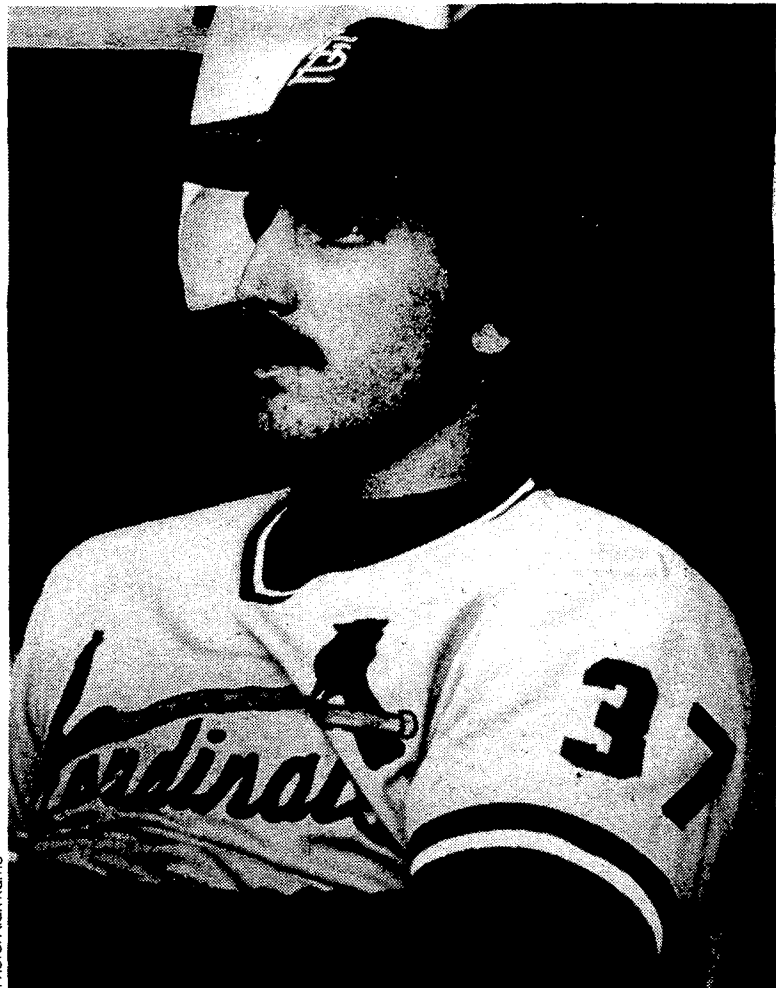
First in the National League in doubles and runs scored, and among the top five in RBIs, the St. Louis Cardinals' first baseman also came close to winning his second consecutive Gold Glove for near-flawless fielding. Though his .344 average topped both leagues and earned him the

Batting Championship, Hernandez started off the year in a bad slump, hitting only .237 at the beginning of May. Things only turned around after his father, Johnny Hernandez, who serves as his unofficial batting coach, flew out to St. Louis from San Francisco to settle him down. His father had been a promising player in the Texas League until he was knocked out by an injury.

The reassurance worked, and Hernandez batted .340 for the month, .369 in June, .333 in July and .384 in August, when he was overwhelmingly named Player of the Month.

Hernandez is known as 'Chicano' to his teammates. "I've picked up several nicknames—'Wetback,' 'Refried Beans,' 'Taco'—just about every racial slur you can think of," Hernandez told ITT. This and other factors cause adjustment problems for some Latinos who play professional ball. The promising pitching career of Roger (Rogelio) Moret, a Puerto Rican, with the Texas Rangers ended abruptly when he suffered a nervous breakdown.

"It's very hard on Latin players who come from other countries, especially in the minor leagues," Hernandez said. "Not only are they away from home and from their families, but many of them don't speak much English when they arrive." With sportscasters ill-equipped and disinclined to do interviews in Spanish, the Latin players are frequently denied attention that English speaking athletes get for similar play.



Keith Hernandez says Latino players are often slighted by English-only sports reporters.

"These days young players know that to the front office you're just a piece of meat."

"I saw this closely with my best friend, Hector Cruz, who I roomed with for several years," said Hernandez. (Puerto Rican infielder Heity Cruz started his career with the Cardinals, has since played for Chicago, San Francisco, and is currently with Cincinnati. ("He spoke very little English at first, and I tried to help him out.

"If every team had a few Spanish speaking coaches, there would be less of a communications gap."

Hernandez differs with coaches who blame the younger players' attitudes for sagging team morale. "Back in the old days, baseball was run like the military. Guys just followed orders and kept quiet. But now the young players know that to the front office you're just a piece of meat. As soon as you stop producing it's sayonara. So today's athletes aren't afraid to speak up."

Sue Martinez is a journalist in San Jose, Calif.

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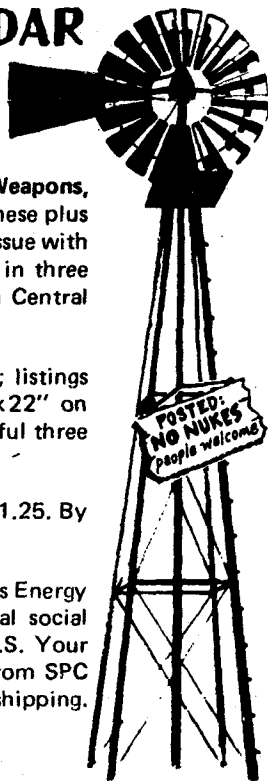
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By Bruce Dancie

HAS THE CLASS OF '69 FORGOTTEN how to rock and roll? It sometimes seems that way. I have the recurrent experience of going to a friend's house, checking out their record collection, and discovering that it hasn't advanced beyond the Beatles' *Abbey Road* or the Temptations' *Greatest Hits*. What does this mean, I ask myself? Could such a socially aware individual who has adapted gracefully and thoughtfully to the changing political circumstances of the '70s be so culturally (dare I say it) reactionary?

After determining that the absence of new albums isn't the result of some sort of protest against the oil companies that make the vinyl for records, I can only conclude that many who arrived at adulthood during the Vietnam war have simply abandoned rock music. Considering that this generation—the "rock generation," it was called—is currently having its history written, in part, by the rock bands whose music makes up the soundtrack to movies like *Coming Home* and *Apocalypse Now*, this is a cultural development of considerable interest.

Many contemporary commentators saw the 1969 debacle at Altamont, Calif.—as the end of an era. Criminally irresponsible as the organizers may have been, the Altamont experience by itself could not have had so detrimental an impact. It probably would have simply punctured the Woodstock Nation euphoria.

A far more significant turning point was the splitting up of the Beatles in 1969-70. The Beatles' breakup resulted in the temporary demise of the great Anglo-American rock band. Among all of the Beatles' enormous contributions to popular music, perhaps their most important was in defining rock as a collective experience, the results of the joint creativity of a group of musicians. Before them, virtually every significant rock and roll act, from Elvis Presley to the Shirelles, consisted of name vocalists backed by anonymous and seemingly interchangeable studio musicians. The Beatles, on the other hand, both composed and performed their own songs, and acted as an independent, self-contained organization.

The Beatles were the perfect expression of a unit that both incorporated yet retained the individuality of its separate parts. When they split amid public quarrels, lawsuits and factionalization, a process that paralleled the fragmentation of the New Left, rock lost in the eyes of many its sense of community as well as its most creative band. Rock's other leading assemblage, and the only ones with the Beatles' stature, remained intact. But the Rolling Stones, though continuing to make brilliant, if increasingly inconsistent, music, soon became another factor in the falling away of the '60s rock audience.

With Mick Jagger drowning in cynicism and Keith Richards downing in drugs, their songs and image became almost desperately shocking. The Stones had always played upon provocatively ambivalent sexual and cultural imagery and joyously tweaked accepted social mores, but by the early and mid-'70s their message seemed to many to be dangerously amoral, misogynist and self-destructive.

And what of Bob Dylan? For more than a decade, with the exception of a few songs from *Blood On The Tracks* and *Desire*,

STATE of the ART

ROCK



Reggae (left Bob Marley) and punk rock (above left Johnny Rotten) led the way back to rock vitality like that of Graham Parker (above) and the Rumour.

Time to tune in again

Dylan had written little of consequence and repeatedly shown a penchant for desecrating and trivializing some of his greatest songs from the '60s. Ironically, at the tail end of the '70s he released his strongest album since *Blonde On Blonde*, the Lord-praising *Slow Train Coming*. For the first time in years, Dylan evidently found something he believed in and he sang like a man possessed.

THE ROCK THAT CAME TO dominate the early '70s bore important similarities to that of the previous fallow period, the post-Presley (he got drafted, remember), pre-Beatles doldrums of 1958-1962. Just as soft and vapid teen ballads replaced the hard-edged exuberance of mid-'50s rock and roll—exemplified by the bite of both Chuck Berry's guitar and wit—in the '70s terms like "mellow" and "laid back" began to describe the music.

The rise of singer-songwriters such as Carole King, James Taylor and Elton John epitomized this trend. The blissed-out banalities of King's *Tapestry*—which became one of the all-time largest selling albums—provided a potent tranquilizer for an America still reeling from the Vietnam war. John, with his outlandish glasses and costumes, rode a cloyingly catching middle-of-the-road style to repeated commercial success. Though Taylor was never as complacent as the others—his lyrics barometering his psychological torment—the lightness of his music repeated belied (and buried) the agony of his message.

Despite the genuine prettiness of much of their songs, they lacked the ability to either inspire, challenge, or disrupt—and good rock has always featured at least one of these elements, sometimes all three. That they all functioned largely as isolated individuals

without being part of a permanent band of musicians fit in well with the early '70s turn to privatism.

Mellow rock's ostensible opposites—the "heavy metal" rock of Led Zeppelin and the "progressive rock" of Yes and Emerson, Lake and Palmer—produced some of the same shortcomings. Named because of the dull, heavy-handed beat and electric guitar overloaded sound, the heavy metal bands smelted a decible-rich but content-poor music. Graceless hulks exalting power without style, they proved as soporific as the singer-songwriters—except that they pounded their listeners into submission instead of lulling them to sleep. Rock music, it should be remembered, is supposed to roll, not plod.

The misnamed progressive rockers took the worst lesson from *Sergeant Pepper*—rock pretending to be art—and extended it beyond all decent limits. Overblown arrangements, steals from classical music and tedious technical virtuosity carried rock to new depths of pretentiousness. Emerson, Lake and Palmer even titled one of their albums *Works, Volume 1*. Roll music, it should be remembered, is supposed to rock, not gavotte.

Little wonder that many one-time rock fans threw in their headphones. To be sure, gifted performers arose during even the worst of eras, and a committed rock fan could have remained in the fold without suffering acute embarrassment. (The same could be said for soul music—the fall-off from the Four Tops and Aretha Franklin to the O'Jays and Donna Summer was noticeable, but not steep.) But generally, the worthy were both outnumbered and outsold.

For some, the decline of rock led to a search for other types of

music. No doubt the jazz revival of recent years is a related development, as is the return of many to the music they originally deserted for rock—folk or acoustic music.

But the "rock is dead" lament/gloat no longer holds up. Rock music is in the midst of a renaissance and experiencing its most outstanding creative growth since the late '60s. Like political transformations, the origins of the revival can be found growing during the least hospitable of times, though it had emerged in full force by 1977.

REGGAE MUSIC, A CHUNKA-chunka beat blended from both Caribbean and U.S. soul rhythms combined with a searing social criticism, wafted north from Jamaica by the mid-'70s. Although an occasional reggae tune surfaced in the U.S. before then—Millie Small's "My Boy Lollipop" was a novelty hit way back in 1964—the soon-to-be-cult movie *The Harder They Come* first brought the Jamaican music to wide attention in 1973. Jamaican stars such as Bob Marley and the Wailers soon built up their own followings in this country and white rockers started borrowing reggae rhythms. Reggae is the most exciting development in black music since the heyday of the Motown and Memphis sounds—even if it is ignored by rock radio programmers.

Another group of rock saviors reached back into the rebel rock and roll of the mid-'50s and the power chords of the British mid-'60s to produce the most misunderstood and maligned brand of rock ever—punk rock. Punk classics like the Sex Pistols' "Anarchy in the U.K." and "God Save the Queen" agitated Great Britain in a strikingly familiar repeat of previous rock generational warfare. For the third time in three decades, a youthful mu-

sical form was derided for being "just a bunch of noise" performed by people who were viewed as ugly, dirty, lazy, hostile, obscene and incompetent.

All of the hooah obscured a great deal: that the best of the punks were making rock music that was socially aware, often politically radical, and always irresistibly danceable; that the experimental wing of the punk movement was allying with avant-garde musicians in other genres to produce startlingly imaginative new types of rock; and that once more collectivity, not individual superstardom, was being asserted as the essence of rock and roll.

But it was up to the best band in rock—Graham Parker and the Rumour—to show that the lyrical anger and intelligence of vintage Dylan, the melodic perfection of the Beatles and the power of the Stones not only did not die, but has returned with a vengeance.

Like Patti Smith, Elvis Costello and some of the other modern rock poets, Parker's songs ripple with street-wise tension and anger. Yet Parker's bitterness, so refreshing amid generalized musical bland-out, contains little self pity. One first admires, then becomes captivated by this working class Briton's integrity in "pourin' it all out."

Together with his band, the Rumour, Parker leads the rock resurgence. A listener is now bombarded with dozens of rock bands playing music as vibrant and passionate as any ever recorded. Looks like the '80s will be worth sticking around for after all.

So consider this sketchy survey of the fall and rise of rock in the 1970s an open letter to old classmates, fellow war protesters and retired counter-culturalists. Your having left rock behind in the early part of this decade is hereby excused, but any further absenteeism will be at your own risk.

Rock is back. So roll over Ringo and tell John Lennon the news. ■



A MAN, A WOMAN, A RELATIONSHIP

BY PAT AUFDERHEIDE

*Is There Life After Love
(in the movies)?*



Top to bottom: Gere and Eichhorn in *YANKS*; Clayburgh and Reynolds in *STARTING OVER*; Heard and Hurt in *HEAD OVER HEELS*.

The latest subject of disaster movies seems to be the personal relationship. The tattered truce in the war between the sexes is the theme of several recent releases—*10* (Orion), *Starting Over* (Paramount), *Head over Heels* (United Artists), *Yanks* (Universal).

10 is one of the season's most popular films, singlehandedly accounting for 11 percent of October ticket sales in North America. It is advertised as a crass sex comedy, but it turns out to be Blake (he's Mr. Pink Panther) Edwards' confessional portrait of a celebrity (Dudley Moore) fishing for the perfect all-American girl (a "10"). When he not only finds but lands an "11" (Bo Derek), he discovers that the more sedate charms of his wife-mother-mistress (Julie Andrews, Edwards' wife in real life) are more satisfying.

Starting Over is a new Burt Reynolds vehicle, and it has a factory finish to it. Burt once again is the ingenue. He is flanked by Candice Bergen as his wife who leaves him for singer-songwriting fame, and Jill Clayburgh, a sad-sack elementary school teacher who falls for him in spite of all she has learned from women's groups.

Head over Heels was made by Joan Micklin Silver, (*Hester Street*; *Between the Lines*), one of the few women who can get Hollywood money for her movies. She has a tendency toward subcultural themes and insular treatments of them. It can work well as a personal style, but there are limits. This "little film" is positively microscopic.

John Heard plays a spineless civil servant who loves an insecure office librarian (Mary Beth Hurt) and pursues her doggedly for a year with ever-increasing lunacy until he hounds her into submission and she moves back in with him.

Yanks is a reincarnated "women's film," made by John (*Sunday, Bloody Sunday*; *Midnight Cowboy*) Schlesinger. It is 1943, and American soldiers flood into English towns empty of English fighting-age men. Romances bloom, three onscreen. The happy-go-lucky bus conductress gets pregnant and married with her goofy GI. The local aristocratic wife and the officer in charge control their passions with the dignity of their stations in life. And the stars of the story, the young lovers (Lise Eichhorn and Richard Gere) promise each other to meet and marry after the war. These "weepie" love stories are made modern by the fact that the men have tears and hearts too.

Women's magic.

You could watch all four of these films end to end and never get a clue that over a decade of reawakened feminism and organized women's movements had preceded them.

The first two comedies have as their motor the notion that men are people and women are just, well, baffling. In both of them, the debonair and affluent man and his problems are the center of the story. Burt and Dudley are both regular guys, dazzled by romantic lies they have been fed (no doubt by their mothers) and by the beautiful women who surround them. Burt has to walk a perilous line between his wife's yodels of career-womanism (she sings stomper songs about it) and his girlfriend's attacks of paranoid insecurity in the middle of her single-girl-alone-and-liking-it act. All he wants is a wife. Neither he nor anyone else in his divorced men's group can figure out why that's so hard to get.

Dudley suffers under feminine magic much more overtly than Burt. "11" has only to arc her head slightly or arch a leg—oblivious to his attention—to send him into helpless tailspins. The humor, such as it is, consists in his reactions, which contrast to her grace by being pedestrian, confused, clumsy and drunkenly scared. Her gift to him—as the good witch of sexuality—is the secret that Ravel's *Bolero* is good music to make love to.

These two films don't direct themselves only to men, although their heroes are the most human of the characters. They also have something to say to women: that life is best at its most

domestic. *Starting Over's* singer-songwriter may be successful but fame doesn't warm her bed, and she ends up singing about true love after all. The teacher's school kids make her happy, but the prospect of her own makes her happier still. In *10*, having a cool and "flexible" relationship, whether heterosexual or homosexual, isn't as good (for mere mortals) as settling down to home-as-sanctuary and sex-as-security-blanket.

Idleness.

But what these people are going to do at home, other than cower from the pressures of the world outside, is unclear. There is so much idleness and dilatory activity in all these films that you begin to see why everybody is having so much trouble keeping relationships knitted together. They don't need anybody to stay home for the phone repair man or watch the baby while the other runs out for groceries.

Not only do they lack passionate love for someone else (rather than insecurity in search of ego-strokes), they also lack a practical reason to form a domestic unit. The relationship is elevated to the business of life itself—and not even the relationship, but the blind search for it.

Head over Heels is the most exasperating (and least commercially successful too) of these films in its celebration of the frailty of love these days. This movie has caught the Annie Hall syndrome bad; the relationship should get an acting credit. The hero is a young self-pitying man who lives in an inherited house and has a patronage job and who, having found a woman to engage his interest, turns a person into an obsession. Since he does nothing and thinks about nothing but her, we are hard put to see what he has to offer. But the plot requires that we read his pathology for love. Worse, the woman reads it that way. As we say goodbye to them both she is parked firmly next to his kitchen stove. What's she making? A fussy chocolate-and-orange dessert.

Head over Heels exaggerates current themes only slightly. Women are mysteriously powerful. Their inexplicable gifts make possible—even necessary—the obsessiveness of men, and eliminate any chance of an equality of needs and desires.

Sentiment.

An antidote to all this difficult modernity, which recasts familiar myths in condominium clothes, is the sentimental and old-fashioned *Yanks*. With *Yanks*, relationships are not bizarre or tortured, weighted toward one sex's greater humanity. *Yanks* shows us relationships that otherwise might work but that are made difficult by the vagaries of wartime. People want not eternal bliss or the perfect girl, but family stability, personal respect, sexual vitality. They have romance at a historical moment in working lives, and they want love as part of life rather than as a substitute for it.

Yanks can get away with its home-and-hearth, idealistic-young-couples themes because it's set in an irrevocable past. Women can work and even take the organizational lead—like Vanessa Redgrave's Red Cross activities—because it's wartime. (Besides, Redgrave plays an upper class woman, and they can lead even in peacetime.) Men can be sentimental and want only to go home and get married because they're being shipped away to die. The class distinctions that shine through the plot are appropriate—that was the old England, wasn't it?

So as the credits roll up, we find ourselves nostalgically wishing the youngsters all the best in life. We also realize that the couple probably did well in the postwar motel business, and that today they may well be getting a divorce, or possibly only affixing a "Have You Hugged a Grandparent Today?" sticker to their Cadillac's bumper.

It is possible to project a future from *Yank's* last scenes. That future may be trite, but it's believable. The present of the other films is a cold one, one of unfulfillment in the guise of intimacy and romance.

It's a world where stalking the wild relationship has become a full-time job. ■